Dr. SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE NATIONAL FLAG
AND OTHER ESSAYS

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THE NATIONAL FLAG

A SELECTION OF PAPERS CULTURAL AND HISTORICAL

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BY

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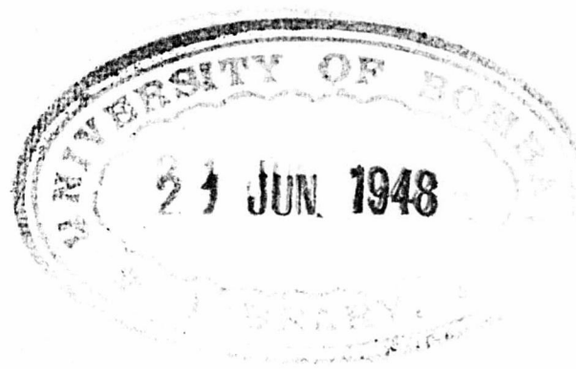

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PUBLISHERS' NOTE

Professor Suniti Kumar Chatterji is a well-known scholar of our country whose reputation in his own special field of Indian Linguistics is not confined to Bengal and India alone, but has spread outside India wherever there is study of and interest in the subject. Professor Chatterji is not a mere dryasdust scholar and teacher who moves about in blinkers in his own science alone, but he has a wide range of interests in the entire field of history and culture, and his outlook is definitely human, and all-inclusive. He is a writer whose contributions are eagerly read in his mother-tongue Bengali, as well as in English and Hindi, and the Publishers have thought that there is a demand for some of his English articles which are on non-technical subjects, as volumes of his Bengali papers have proved to be quite popular. The Publishers look forward to bringing out a similar volume or volumes of Professor Chatterji's other English writings, covering an equally wide range of subjects, and they are confident that the present volume will obtain a favourable reception both at home in India and abroad.

Calcutta, 15 September, 1944.

To SIR SARVAPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

VICE-CHANCELLOR, HINDU UNIVERSITY, BENARES

TEACHER, THINKER, WRITER

INTERPRETER OF INDIA

A LITTLE TOKEN OF ADMIRATION AND AFFECTION

FROM HIS FORMER COLLEAGUE IN THE

UNIVERSITY OF CALCUTTA

THE AUTHOR

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THE NATIONAL FLAG

At the last session of the Congress it was decided to go into the question of the National Flag. It was a good thing that this decision was finally arrived at. A flag stands as a symbol of something : and a National Flag is the symbol of our national ideals and aspirations, of our hopes and achievements as a people. It is a beacon light showing to the people the path to sacrifice, often to the supreme sacrifice : 'they are hanging men upon the common, for the wearing of the green'. Consequently it is not to be treated lightly as something which need not have any special or deep significance. The Flag Committee of the Congress fortunately realises the importance of the question, and also their responsibility in the matter. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Convener of the Committee, has issued a questionnaire inviting opinions from different Congress and other organisations, as well as from individuals.

* * *

There is no ancient flag or banner whether of Hindu or Muhammadan times, which we can think of for adoption as the flag of our country as a whole. Imperial or local princely houses had their standards, *e. g.* the *Garuḍa* Standard of the Imperial Guptas. But even when nearly the whole of India was united under the Mauryas in the 3rd century B. C. and the Moguls in the 17th century A. C. no *national* flag or crest seems to have been thought of. India was never physically a *nation militante*, and so there was no need for a national symbol to rally round, in opposition to other nations. Besides, the *political* unity of India that we are now conscious of is an entirely new thing.

But underlying this new sense of political unity is the unseen foundation of a sense of *geographical* and *cultural* unity which is age-old in our history, and which transcends all diversities and oppositions of race, language, and creed.

If we set about trying to find a National Flag for India, what should be, in the first instance, the right attitude to take up? If we aim at having a united Indian nation—or a federation of Indian nationalities—we must not, as the most solemn article of our political creed, countenance anything that will help to perpetuate cleavages in the community. *We must not think in terms of different communities, whatever be their language or religion or geographical situation.* We cannot, therefore, think of quartering our National Flag to perpetuate a sense of communal distinctness among our people. Any explanation of the colours in our National Flag as symbolising Hindus, Musalmans, Christians and other communities we should regard as pernicious and anti-national.

The colours in a national flag for a country like India, which has been the most remarkable meeting-ground of peoples, should thus represent ideas and aspirations which are of universal significance and which have no merely accidental connexion with this or that section's past—a past which is sought to be employed for communal or national chauvinism. If any particular community finds a secret pleasure in thinking of a certain colour or symbol which has been adopted in the National Flag as being specially connected with its own little or big world within the bigger world of India, either spiritually or historically, it does not matter, so long as that is not forced upon the national interpretation and so long as other communities also find it appropriate, from a national, supra-communal stand-point.

Let us now see how far the National Flag in use at present satisfies the above and other considerations.

In the case of the national flag and crest we have, like many national anthems, either an accidental beginning at the psychological moment, or a deliberate promulgation. The official British flag for India (the Union Jack with a star with an English motto "Heaven's Light Our Guide") belonging to the latter category and having no reference to our history and traditions or to anything universal, could have no appeal for the Indian body politic ; and the need for a truly Indian flag was felt by our leaders. There were many tentative essays at flag-making : a green field with five white lotuses in a row here, a white lotus in a red field there, an outline map of India on a blue background at some other place. More than twenty years ago the late Sister Nivedita suggested in an article in the *Modern Review* a design for the National Flag in which the Thunderbolt and the Lotus were included, to symbolise the spiritual aspirations of India. Green and Red were probably first hoisted as the national colours for India by Mrs. Annie Besant and Mr. Wadia in the year 1917. Green then stood for Life and Hope, and Red for Blood and Sacrifice. In 1921-22 the White was added to the Red and Green, and with the political atmosphere being surcharged with the spirit of Khilafatism and communal compartmentalism, the communal interpretation of the colours came into being—Green was made to represent the Muhammadans, Red the Hindus, and the neutral White all the lesser communities.

Objections were put forward to these colours from time to time, but a general loyalty to Mahatmaji and to the Congress and the intensity of the political struggle did not allow any serious opinion to crystallise. Sanskrit scholars at the All-India Sanskrit Conference held in Calcutta in

1924 mildly talked of including Saffron or Ochre colour and the *Gadā* mace of Vishnu as Hindu symbols in the flag. On the eve of the Belgaum session of the Congress in 1924 a letter was sent from Rabindranath's institution at Santiniketan, signed, among others, by the late Dwijendranath Tagore and C. F. Andrews, requesting Mahatmaji to consider the advisability of including the *gairika* (*gerū*, or red ochre colour) in the National Flag. It typified the spirit of renunciation, and was a colour which symbolised an ideal common to the Hindu Yogi and Sannyasi as well as to the Muslim Faqir and Darwesh. (See in this connexion the *Modern Review* for November 1930.) Recently the Sikhs brought the question to a head by making a firm demand that the Sikh colour, which is equally the *gerū* or saffron, should have a place in the National Flag.

* * *

Let us see what objections can be urged against the present Red, White and Green National Flag.

In the first instance these three colours, and these three only, already figure in the flags of at least four different countries—Persia and Italy, and Bulgaria and Mexico. The dispositions of the colours are different, but Bulgaria has an identical arrangement with the present Indian Flag. We do not know what these three colours symbolise for the peoples of the above countries. But why not let India have something distinctive, something in the way of colour which one can specially connect with her and her ideals ? Moreover, the communal symbolism suggested for the colours in our Flag is to be objected to ; and further objection can be made for both the Red and the White even on these communal grounds.

We should (at least in the authoritative Congress explanation of the device) expunge all communal connotations, and further substitute some new colonr-scheme

consisting of three or more colours (*cf.* China, which has five horizontal bars of red, yellow, blue, white and black). We can retain three, falling in a line with most countries : our tricolour will then be described, in our democratic language, as the *Hindusthān-kā Tiraṅgā Jhaṇḍā*. Or, we can have four colours : we shall then call our Flag the *Chaurangā*, which by itself, like the French *tricolore*, will suffice to indicate the Indian National Flag. *Four* is a number we are fond of in India. It is the basis of computation in our monetary system, in our weights and measures, and in our game of chess (*Chaturaṅga i.e.* the four wings of the army, Persianised and Arabicised into *shatranj*), a great gift of India to the world. So four colours would be quite distinctive of India if included in the Indian Flag.

What should these three colours, or four, be ? What should they represent ? A symbol, when it once has obtained a vogue, should not be disturbed, for two reasons. It has to be seen whether there is anything really objectionable against a symbol as such : if there is none, then there is no point in trying to improve upon it. Then, we must not disturb a state of things which is crystallising as something very necessary in our national life and consciousness. Now, for the last ten years the present National Flag is being used throughout the length and breadth of this country. And these last ten years have witnessed, under the shadow of this banner, a wonderful transformation of our Indian people. We should not consequently bring in any violent or revolutionary change in our National Flag ; we should, if some change is thought nocessary, bring in the minimum amount of alteration required under the circumstances.

* * *

I wish to reiterate once again that a communal explanation or allocation of colours, like communal electorates,

should be taboo. We should keep away from this poison as much as possible. We can easily revert to the original explanation of these Colours as Symbols of Ideas—the explanation of which is also universal. I think Green and Red should both be retained. Green, the colour of vegetation, is the colour of life and growth, and this symbolism is current among all the nations of the earth. As a people, above all we want to live, and we can very well have the symbol of Life in our national emblem. Green is also the colour of Hope, and we live largely in hope. As we want to live we want to strive—we want to fulfil a purpose in our existence. Life for us should be something more than mere existence. It is a quest—it is a kind of ardour which would rise superior to all oppositions, material, moral and spiritual, in our realisation of the Ideal. Life is indeed *Passion*, taking the neutral sense of the word—the passion which throbs in our breast and which tingles in the life-blood in us. Red is the colour of this quality in our life : call it Passion or Suffering, call it Exultation or Triumph, call it Sacrifice that is necessary for both. Red, the colour of blood, is the most appropriate colour for this Passion—this *Rāga*, and this Sacrifice—which the blood crushed out of the victim's existence enables us to visualise most forcefully. Green and Red, therefore, both are appropriate : they are the symbols of life which is a perpetual striving and sacrifice : not petty symbols of a community or a minority, eagerly jostling with others for a place in the sun.

* * *

What should the third colour be, if we elect to retain three colours ? Should the White, too, be retained ? I think here practical considerations in the first instance should make us pause before we can finally accept the White. White is a good colour, it is a universal symbol of Purity. But it is likewise a colour which we associate in India with Mourning. But weightier than this is the fact

that White already occurs with Red and Green in the flags of four other countries, as mentioned before. And everywhere White does not connote purity. In the French tricolour, White is retained as the monarchist colour—the colour of the Bourbon house. This practical consideration should make us think of some other better (or at least equally suitable) colour. And it will be an additional point in favour of that colour if we can connect it in a special manner with our country.

* * *

It seems that the ideas of Renunciation and Harmlessness—of *Vairāgya* and *Ahiṃsā*—form the keynote of Indian life, whether Hindu or Muhammadan or Christian. This is the ideal which would send the king in his old age to the forest hermitage in Hindu India : this same Ideal of Renunciation made Prince Siddhartha, the Buddha that was to be, don the saffron garb of the ascetic ; and behind the magnificence of the Mogul court it was this ideal, again, which dominated the eclectic Akbar, whose great principle in life was *Sulḥ-e-Kull* or 'peace with all', and the austere Aurangzeb whose single-minded devotion to the strait path enjoined by the faith in which he was born soared up in the firmament of his career with the unbroken flight of a tall mosque minaret. An Indian is never in so great love with life and its possessions as to think highly of a 'death in harness' in his old age : life has far deeper and more mysterious meaning for him than piling up the goods of the world, or going on building something and yet starving his soul. He would rather be a mendicant in the shrine of his own faith and pious contemplation, guiding and helping his followers and yet feeling detached from them. That is why the faith in the unseen world and preparation for it which Islam teaches with such insistence found a congenial soil in India, more than perhaps in any other land where Islam penetrated. The ideal of Harmlessness is also present in the

mystic and the deeper expression of Islam that is Sufiism. And the Indian always associated with this spirit of detachment and of *Ahiṃsā* the reddish or orange-brown colour of the garments worn by the wanderer. The *gerū* or *gairika*, the Red Ochre or Saffron colour worn by the Indian *Sannyāsī* brings to our mind most forcibly the picture of this great ideal of Detachment and Harmlessness. This Saffron colour also is the colour of discipline in life, physically or morally and spiritually, for it is the colour enjoined upon the *Brahmachārin*. A modification of this Saffron colour is the Yellowish Brown—the *Kasāva* or *Kāshāya*—of Buddhism, where it is the great symbol of the Buddhist brotherhood with its insistence on *Ahiṃsā*. This colour is of the Earth—it is a kind of *khākī*, for the red ochre is a pigment which is a gift of Mother Earth. This red-brown tint of the earth has also been accepted by Islam in India, for Muhammadan *Faqīrs* with robes dyed in *gerū* are as much the wanderers over the highways of India as are their brothers in the quest, the Hindu *Sādhus*. It does not require much imagination or sense of the fitness of things to feel that in India's National Flag her great message of *Brahmacharya*, *Ahiṃsā* and *Vairāgya* should be symbolised by a colour which has been associated by her people with these ideals from time immemorial.

* * *

Red, Green and Ochre or Saffron would thus be a distinctive colour scheme for India. The cloth for the National Flag should in all cases be hand-spun and hand-woven—whether cotton or silk.

There would then be less chance of confusing our national colours with other nations like Persia and Italy, Mexico and Bulgaria. The disposition of these colours should be vertical rather than horizontal, preferably with Red next to the staff, Ochre or Saffron at the outer edge, and Green

in the middle. A vertical arrangement is suggested because the oblong vertical blocks give an idea of robustness and strength which the supine horizontal blocks, one lying above another, fail to do. Any one would be convinced of that by contemplating the pictures of the flags of the different nations side by side.

The idea of having *four* colours may also be considered. In that case, the retention of the neutral White with addition of the Saffron may be advocated. We shall have a representation of the Ideal of Purity as well. Here again the White might figure after the Red for better effect.

* * *

The colours as representing ideals or sentiments of universal appeal and yet with a special Indian touch in the Ochre or Saffron can be symbols of manifold power and significance, and can have more meanings and more kinds of appeal to communities or individuals within the state. If the Musalman thinks of the great brotherhood of Islam when he contemplates the Green in this Flag, and if he finds pleasure in thinking that his creed with its insistence upon the Unity of Godhead is represented with its traditional colour-symbol in his National Flag, other communities will also rejoice with him and appreciate his special affection for the ideals of the democratic faith of Islam. If the Christian sees in the Red the blood of his Lord, which, by His supreme act of sacrifice, helps to make men cleaner and whiter, we shall be equally happy that such a noble ideal should also be thought to have a place in our national emblem. And if the Hindu, whether Sanatani or Brahmo or Arya-Samaji, or Buddhist or Jain or Sikh, reveres the National Flag with greater awe as containing the symbol of *Vairāgya* and *Ahiṃsā*, every true Musalman and Christian will be equally glad for it. And if four colours are decided upon, and the White is retained, those who love the Ideal of Purity which is present through all faiths—and

sometimes transcends them, it may be—will have as citizens of India an equal cause for rejoicing. Thus the Hindus of Bali in Indonesia please themselves by regarding the Red White and Blue banner of Holland as representing respectively Brahma, Siva and Vishnu ;—and the Dutch, too feel pleased at this Balinese interpretation.

* * *

Should we have any device on the Flag—Red, Green and Ochre, or Red, White, Green and Ochre ? Most countries have a device, in addition to the national colours : *e.g.* Ireland has the Shamrock and the Harp, Mexico the Cactus Plant with an Eagle carrying a Snake, England the Rose, the Soviet Union the Hammer and Sickle, etc. The *Charkha* or Spinning Wheel has been in use with our National Flag, being painted in blue on its body. It represents India's desire for the simple life, and her will to combat poverty with the wholesome remedy of her cottage industries. But the *Khaddar* cloth itself as the product of the *Charkha* amply indicates this ideal. The Spinning Wheel as a device on a flag is cumbrous. We do not want to have a sword or a thunderbolt, or some plant or animal figure,—that will not be acceptable to all. But simplifying the *Charkha*, we might have a Simple Wheel.

* * * * * *

A Simple Wheel is the most eloquent of symbols. It represents Eternity ; it represents Time ; it stands for Progress, it figures the Universe. We can put any great idea or meaning to it, and it will not be vulgar. In Persian, the word for wheel, *charkh*, signifies also the celestial globe, the sphere of the heavens, as well as circular motion and fortune. The ancient Indian use of this symbol is as varied as it is profound. We can have symbol of Eternity as something mystic behind existence as an embellishment

of our National Flag. Besides, this symbol can further be employed in a most appropriate manner to indicate one great fact in our national life in a United States of India—our federalism which in principle has been accepted for the future constitution of our country. The wheel can be made to represent our India as a Federal Union : and we can then take the spokes to stand for the constituent members of the Federation—the various Provinces and States. The American National Flag has a similar device—in its flag of stars and stripes the forty-eight white stars in the blue field indicate the forty-eight Members of the Federation of the United States of America. But it is not necessary to make the number of the Members of the Federation and the spokes of the wheel agree. We need not press the comparison too far. The idea of the individual spokes forming the wheel should be enough, and we can have a wheel of the minimum number of spokes—three, or better four—for the flag : for we should remember the question of making the flag, and so avoid complications. If the wheel idea is thought worthy of consideration—a three or four spoked wheel in yellow or black—either of the colours will go best with the Red and Green—can be suggested, to find a place in the central field of the flag.

It has been suggested by some that it will be appropriate to have a spread-out Lotus, in White, with four or eight petals in place of the Wheel. The Lotus will be certainly poetic, and no one can take exception to this great Symbol of India. But would it not be a little too weak, when compared with the Wheel ? Then, a Simple Wheel with four spokes will be easier to affix on the Flag than the more elaborate Lotus : we shall have to consider the practical side of the question too—the National Flag will have to be made in hundreds and thousands. But the Lotus will be quite welcome, as a beautiful symbol from Nature, and the idea of Federation is exquisitely indicated by its

petals. It will be quite striking when in a suitably simple and conventional form.

The above suggestions are offered for what they are worth. The present writer has discussed the matter with some of the best intellects of the country, in Bengal and outside Bengal: and the idea of vertical bands of Red Green and Ochre or Saffrom, with the three or four-spoked Wheel (or the Four or Eight Petalled White Lotus) in the central field, seemed to satisfy most people. It is now presented before the public, and before the Flag Committee appointed by the Indian National Congress: and it is done with the fervent wish and prayer that out of the endeavours of the Committee and with the co-operation and approval of the people a National Flag and a Crest be finally evolved for India which will be in perfect accordance with her great and composite culture, her noblest ideals and achievements, and her high destiny in the future.

First published, *Modern Review*, June, 1931.

[The Congress finally adopted in 1931 the present colours for the National Flag of India, Ochre (*Gairika*) or Saffron, White, and Green, in horizontal bands, with an Indian Spinning Wheel in outline in blue in the central white ground.]

INDIA AND CHINA

China and India are the only two countries in the world whose peoples have had an uninterrupted continuity in their history for over three thousand years. The Jews have lost their language ; as a people they were cut off from their country, and the bases of their national life have been profoundly altered. The descendants of the Egyptians, the Asia Minor and Mesopotamian peoples, the Greeks, and other ancient nations have lost the living touch with their past history and traditions through change of religion or language or both. It is only in China and India that the people consider themselves as the descendants of the ancient races who inhabited the land from time immemorial and as the proud inheritors of the culture and religion that were built up by their ancestors thousands of years ago. There is in India a continuity without any violent break (such as is generally induced by forces from the outside) from the Vedas of times before 1000 B. C. right down to Ramakrishna Paramahamsa, Dayananda Saraswati, Rabindranath Tagore and Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi ; the present Hindu religion is an inheritance obtained in an unbroken line of succession not only from the Aryan, but also from the Dravidian and the Austric ancestors of the Hindus who were living in India centuries and millenniums before the advent of the Aryans during the second half of the second year-thousand before Christ. The Aryan conquest of the Panjab and other parts of North India was more a cultural than a military one, the gradual leavening of the pre-Aryan peoples by the virile Aryan stock with its language and its organisation ; and the culture of the Aryans was inextricably wedded to that of the Dravidians

and Austrics. If the Aryans' language triumphed, it was by accepting the non-Aryan *milieu*. The legends and traditions of the non-Aryans were engrafted on those of the Aryans, and were retold in the Aryan language in the epics and the *Purāṇas*, which have come down to our day. There was nothing which faded and was lost ; everything only suffered a 'sea change'. The civilisation based on agriculture and organised village life which is the peculiar heritage of the Indian people has its roots in the life of the Austric (Kol and Mon-Khmer) and Dravidian peoples, supplemented by what the Aryans brought to the country. So that we can quite justifiably assume an unbroken continuity in the religious and cultural traditions of India from 4000 B.C. and earlier down to our day. In China, a similar unbroken continuity is equally noticeable, from the days of hoary antiquity, when in the third millenium B.C. the people of the Hwang-Ho Valley in North China organised themselves into nation under the rulers of the Hia (Hsia) dynasty (B. C. 2205-1767) and the Shang dynasty (1766-1122 B. C.), and built up a great culture which survives today in the life of the Chinese people.

Once the bases of this culture were formed in North China, its conquest of the rest of that great country became inevitable, and in the course of two millenniums Central and South China were brought within the pale of a common Chinese civilisation which absorbed various other peoples, most of whom, like the Thai in South China, were kinsmen of the North Chinese, while others were probably of a different linguistic family, like the Austric substratum in South China.

For a long time, possibly up to the 5th or 4th Century before Christ, the two countries remained in isolation, and it is just possible that about that time there was the first contact between them, indirectly, through trade. The Indians came to know of China as a country

to their east, after the Ts'in or Ch'in state in Shen-si province had extended its boundaries towards to the south and west in the 5th and 4th centuries B. C., and the name of this state (the rulers of which brought the whole of China as it was in those days under their single rule and formed the first unified and centralised empire in China in B.C. 221, which has endured under successive dynasties to our day) gave by extension the name for the whole country and the entire Chinese people to the Indians and Iranians, and other peoples of the West (as *Chīna* in Sanskrit, *Chīn* in Persian, *Ṣīn* in Arabic, and *Sinae* in Latin). A little later than this, probably in the 2nd century B.C., the Chinese came to know of India through Central Asia, as the land of the Indus (*Sindhu*—Old Chinese **Sien-du*; a new name *T'ien-chu* came into use later and became very popular as the first element meant 'heaven', and this name the Japanese now pronounce as *Ten-jiku*). The current modern name for India in Chinese is *Yin-tu* or *In-tu*, earlier *In-du*, which was suggested by Hiuen-T'sang.

Before coming to be aware of each other's existence, China and India had built up independently two great civilisations, which, with that of ancient Greece, form the three distinctive and original cultures of the world of to-day. The modern civilisation of Europe, which bids fair to become that of the entire human race, is based in its ideals and its spirit on that of ancient Greece, as modified by the Romans. Islamic culture is this same Greek culture recast by the Arabs (including Syrians and Egyptians) on the one hand and the Persians and Turks on the other. But it is the civilisation of China which we see in the Far East, giving the most essential things to the life and culture of the Koreans, the Japanese and the Annamites. China as a civilising force in the Far East, in Central Asia and in South-east Asia has had a most brilliant history. Till very late times, up to its first close contact with the

Iranians in Central Asia and with the Indians, in the first centuries of the Christian era, China had remained in isolation ; and the credit for building up her great economic and social system, her great systems of thought furnishing the nuclei of the philosophy of Lao-tze and the social organisation of K'ung-fu-tze (Confucius), and her unique art and literature, must go to China herself, independently of any foreign guidance or inspiration. India, on the other hand, had received many things, in the material sphere mainly, from her western kinsmen and neighbours,—the Iranians and the Greeks particularly ; although her philosophy of life and her mysticism was her own creation. In the evolution of her own civilisation, China received important contribution from India through Buddhism, which has become an integral part of the life of China ; and India also benefited in certain ways. But the greatest link between the two countries was Buddhism ; and the philosophy of the *Tao* (which is comparable to the Upanishadic idea of the *Ṛta* and the *Brahman*, and is in fact the reaction of the deeper Chinese mind to the world of Being and of the Idea, running in a strangely parallel line to that of the Indian mind as revealed in the Upanishads and in other early Indian thought) had prepared the Chinese spirit for the philosophy of Buddhism.

We now know a great deal about the inter-action of the Indian mind on the Chinese through the study of the history of Chinese Buddhism. Before the advent of Buddhism in China, the thinking classes in that country were slowly and inevitably ranging themselves into two mutually exclusive but complementary groups or schools—the school of pragmatic social endeavour which was formulated by Confucius and Mencius, and that of mystic spiritual contemplation which was given a definite shape by Lao-tze and his followers Chuang-tze and Lieh-tze. Originally when the social structure and social ideals as well as the philosophical

speculations developed in pre-Lao-tze and pre-Confucian China, *i.e.*, before 600 B.C., there was no sharp demarcation between the practical and the speculative aspects of life. But internal disorders and the growing complications and unhapinesses of civilised life led to the development of ideas of social reform for the betterment of the world on the one hand and of contemplative aloofness for the realisation of inner peace and harmony on the other; and these ideas took their characteristic forms in the hands respectively of Confucius and Lao-tze. The ancient Chinese appear to have come to develop the conception of a sort of inner substance (comparable to that of *Mana* among the Polynesians), both psychical and physical, which enveloped and underlay all material and supra-material existence. This they called the *Tao* (in Old Chinese pronunciation **Dhau*), 'the Way'; and the *Tao* manifested itself from its absolute, unknowable character as the potent creative principle in the universe, working through the two principles of *Yang* or the positive and *Yin* or the negative. Lao-tze took up these old ideas and gave a new spiritual content to them, and built up a way of thought which has striking points of agreement with Upanishadic thought. His *Tao* in its manifest and unmanifest forms is like the *Nirguṇa* and *Saguṇa Brahman*—the supreme in its absolute and its manifested forms—of the Indian thinkers in the Upanishads. As a moral principle sustaining and directing the Universe, *Tao* or the Way is comparable to *Rita* (*ṛta*) or the Divine Law, the Truth, which upholds all existence, in the thought of the Indians (Indo-Aryans) as well as the Iranians. Those who cultivate the *Tao* arrive at an inner calm which makes them be fully 'in tune with the Infinite'; they learn, in the words of the Negro sage when he was asked the secret of his cheerfulness in the midst of poverty and suffering, 'to co-operate with the Inevitable'. Certainly the

profoundest thought of China, before which the materialistic altruism of Confucius ceases to have any permanent value, is to be found in the Taoism of Lao-tze and his earlier followers. And this found itself in perfect harmony with Indian thought as in Buddhism, when this later brought to the Chinese the notions of *Saṃsāra* and *Dharma*, of *Bodhi* and of *Nirvāṇa*, and of the life contemplative as opposed to the life active or mundane. So that Buddhism came not as a strange or alien set of ideas for the Chinese people, but as something which was akin to their own Taoism, and was in certain respects a deeper fulfilment of it. Apart from this higher, philosophic Taoism, there was the lower aspect of it indulging in the search for magic powers and the elixir of life bringing immortality, through sorcery and other practices far removed from any transcendental spiritual quest ; and this lower aspect of Taoism fell into the deserved disrepute and contempt from those who followed Confucius in working for a well-ordered society leaving no room for contemplative aloofness or magical hocus-pocus. The doctrine of the *Tao*, properly appreciated in India among her intellectuals, together with Chinese Humanism as in China's great literature and China's art, will, side by side with Buddhism, form further links in the cultural fellowship between the two peoples that has existed for nearly two thousand years.

In the history of Sino-Indian relations, it must be said, to the credit of China's openness to new ideas, that she profited more on the intellectual, artistic and spiritual side than did India; and it is not a flattering statement for India that in all the course of her connexion with China she did not evince any great curiosity for the life and culture of her great neighbour and sister. The intense love and devotion which the personality of Buddha evoked in the minds of the more spiritual among the sons of China, in men of supreme intellectual and spiritual pre-eminence like Hiuen

Ts'ang, invested the land and people of Buddha with a part of the glory that is his alone, and India was approached as a *Guru* rather than as an equal ; and India was just content to give of her best where her help was sought, and did nothing more, even for her own benefit. But curiosity about her great neighbour was not absolutely lacking. We learn from Chinese sources that Bhaskara-varman, the Brahman king of Kama-rupa or Pragjyotisha-pura (Assam) who invited Hiuen Ts'ang to his court, evinced an interest in the thought and letters of China, and wanted to read some great Chinese classic in an Indian (Sanskrit) translation. Hiuen Ts'ang thought that the most suitable book of his country for a thoughtful Indian would be the *Tao-teh-King*, in which the teachings of Lao-Tze are enshrined,—a work which can worthily take its place beside our chief Upanishads ; and after his return to China he set about making a Sanskrit translation of the work, but a difficulty arose about the proper Sanskrit rendering of the word *Tao*, which Hiuen Ts'ang wished to translate as *Mārga*. But, as we have suggested before, the Vedic term *Rita* (*ṛta*), from a root meaning 'to go', and probably in its original sense connoting 'gone' and then 'way', and 'divine way', would perhaps be a more suitable equivalent of the Chinese *Tao*. Hiuen Ts'ang had studied the Vedas in India, but somehow this word did not strike him as indicating something similar to *Tao*. However, we have no trace now of this translation. If it is recovered, it will be a document of inestimable value in the world of Sino-Indian contacts—a permanent memento of India's genuine desire to know China, howsoever limited that desire might have been.

Chinese Buddhists, and Indian missionaries who went out to China, frequently never to return to their motherland, worked together bulding up the great Chinese literature of Buddhism by translating from Sanskrit and Pali ; and some Central Asian Buddhists, Iranians from Khotan

and from Sogdiana, and other Indo-Europeans from Kucha like the great Kumara-jiva, also took part in this. The account of their labours is one of the most brilliant examples of intellectual collaboration between two peoples that is known in the history of humanity. A list of the contents of the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*—the Buddhist scriptures—is a sufficient testimony to the great work that was jointly done by China and India ; and the story has recently been retold as a connected history by our first Indian Sinologist of the present day, Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, in his French work *Le Canon bouddhique en Chine* ; and it is not necessary to dilate upon that.

China was great in her material civilisation also, and some of her inventions have been of greatest help in advancing the progress of humanity. Foremost of these were paper, and printing ; and gun-powder and paper-money are among the characteristic things in the modern world for which we have to thank the genius of China. Silk, porcelain and tea were other gifts of China to humanity. In ancient times when India and China were in touch with each other, China sent her silk, and her flutes of a slender kind of bamboo, as early as the 2nd century B.C. ; the Chinese military explorer Chang K'ien who visited Central Asia in 128 B.C. was astounded to see these articles there, which had come there from China *via* the great land of the Sindhu, *Sien-du*, or India. Paper come to India at least as early as the 7th century A.D., and it was known in Sanskrit of the day by a name *s'aya* (or *shaya*), as we learn from Yi-Tsing's Sanskrit-Chinese dictionary : the word *sh'aya* is an Indianisation of the Chinese name for paper, which is now pronounced as *chĕ*, and was **tsie* in old pronunciation. (The common Indian word for paper—*kāgad*, *kākal*, *kākat*, *kāgaj* or *kāghaz*, is a Central Asian term which came through the Persian in the wake of the Muslim Turki conquest ; earlier forms of this word occur in Buddhist

Sanskrit as - *kāyagata*, *kāyagada*, *kakari* and *kakali*). The importation of Chinese bamboo flutes gave to Sanskrit one of its few Chinese loan-words—*kīchaka*, from Old Chinese **Ki-chok* (meaning 'Ki-bamboo') : the word came to denote a slender kind of bamboo which would make good flutes. Silk came to be known in India as *Chīnāṃsh'uka*, 'the Chinese fibre or cloth'. Peaches were introduced into India from China by two Chinese princes sojourning in Kashmir, and they were known as *Chīna-rāja-putra* or 'the Chinese Prince'. In addition to *Chīna*, *kīchaka* and *sh'aya*, I have found another word of likely Chinese origin in ancient India —*viz.*, the word *musāra*, meaning some kind of precious stone, which occurs in both Buddhist and Brahmanical works : it is from the Old Chinese **mwa-sar*, to give one pronunciation, now in Modern Chinese *mu-sa* : the Persian and Arabic *bussad* or *busad* 'coral' is the same word. Further research will undoubtedly establish a few more loans from the Chinese in the ancient language of India, and demonstrate the influence of China in the domain of material civilisation.

The study of Sanskrit gave to Chinese scholars their training in phonetics, and they applied the lessons they learned from Sanskrit in determining the sounds of their own words—for their system of writing was concerned more with the ideas than with the sounds, that is, with pronunciation. From the 4th to the 8th century A.D. was the period of the closest communion between India and China. In the coins of the Gupta emperors from the 4th century A.D., which show plentiful evidence of Greek as well as Iranian influence, we find also traces of Chinese influence, *e.g.*, in the figure of the horse and in the form of the waving banner on the sacrificial post in the *As'va-medha* or horse-sacrifice gold pieces of Samudra-gupta ; and the writing in Gupta Brahmi characters in some of the Gupta coins imitates Chinese writing, by going from top to bottom.

Chinese love of nature in both literature and art is one of the finest flowers of Chinese culture, which is a joy for ever and a possession for the whole of humanity. The note of nature was not absent in earlier Indian poetry, as, for example, in the Vedas ; but it cannot be called a dominant note ; and the cultured man's approach to nature as a thing of beauty, such as we see in Chinese literature from even pre-Christian times, is hardly to be found in earlier Indian literature. With Kalidasa, c. 400 A.D., or for the matter of that with post-Christian Indian literature, we have a new approach to nature, as a thing of beauty in itself : nature in the mountains and forests, in the waters, in the seasons : nature wild, and nature in the garden. Was it due to a subtle influencing of the Indian spirit by the Chinese, through some of the sensitive nature-lovers among the few Chinese pilgrim scholars who preceded Fa Hien in their visit to the holy land of India ? That great nature poem of Sanskrit, with all its sweetness and profundity, *viz.*, the *Megha-dūta* or 'Cloud Messenger' of Kalidasa, hangs on the slender story of a too affectionate husband (who neglected his duties because he must always be with his wife) being punished by his master by enforced separation from his beloved one for a year. This separation *motif* is not a new one in Indian literature—we have it in the Vedic saga of King Pururavas and the Apsaras or Nymph Urvasi, we have it in the story of Rama and Sita ; but the punishment idea is new, and for aught we know may have been Kalidasa's own. Yet we cannot fail to recall the very old Chinese legend of K'ien-Niu, the young Cowherd of Heaven, and his bride Tsih-Nü, the Heavenly Weaver, being punished by the latter's father the Sun-god Shên-Yi, the Archer, for being too much engrossed in each other to the neglect of their duties—they were to remain in perpetual separation with the river of heaven, the Milky Way, ever keeping them apart, and were allowed to meet only once a

year. Birds—magpies—helped the separated lovers to come together by forming a bridge over the river of heaven for the Herdsman to cross to his waiting bride. The Moon-goddess Heng-Ngo or Ch'ang-Ngo similarly had to undergo punishment from her husband Shên-yi, the Sun-god, by being separated from him for a time, for having stolen the elixir of life from him.

Sanskrit was sedulously cultivated in China by Buddhist scholars of the more advanced type some twelve to thirteen hundred years ago, and at least four Sanskrit-Chinese dictionaries or vocabularies are known, dating from the 7th to 9th centuries. These give the Sanskrit words with the *aksharas* or Sanskrit letters running from top to bottom in the fashion of Chinese writing, with pronunciation in Chinese characters, and the Chinese equivalent. The North Indian alphabet of the 7th century A.D. became established in China, Korea and Japan in connexion with Sanskrit texts used in Buddhist ritual and worship. Scores of Sanskrit words found their way into Chinese, and through Chinese into Korean and Japanese, although in their mutilated pronunciation they are hardly to be recognised now. Buddhist monks frequently took up Sanskrit names to show their spiritual kinship with India through the language of Buddha. Thus Fa Hien was known as 'Moksha-deva' in Sanskrit, Hiuen Ts'ang as 'Mahayana-deva', and Yi-Tsing as 'Paramartha-deva'. And Indian names, whether of persons, places or supernatural beings of mythology, and history, were usually rendered into Chinese in ancient China. When Rabindranath Tagore visited China in 1924, this old practice was in a way revived when most fittingly the name of this great lover of China and her people was rendered into Chinese as *Chu Chen-tan*, meaning 'the Morning Sun (*Tan* = Sanskrit *Ravi*) and Thunder (*Chen* = Sanskrit *Indra* the God of Thunder) of India (*Chu*, shortened form of *T'ien-chu* = India),' and Rabindaranath gladly accepted

this name as a symbol of China's affection for him as the representative of his country.

It is a thousand pities that the many Indian scholars who went to China, learned the Chinese language and took part in rendering Buddhist texts into Chinese, did not return to India and introduce the culture of China to their people. Perhaps their single-minded purpose in life—the spread of Buddha's message—did not leave them time or thought for anything else. But a time has come when this great work, never seriously attempted by anybody before, should be taken up, both by China and India. And Rabindranath Tagore gave a definite start to this movement, after he had visited China. He inaugurated the *Chīna-bhavana*, the Home of Sinology, in his University of Visva-bharati, and in this work he has obtained the whole-hearted support of China, from Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek downwards. Chinese studies have been started in the University of Calcutta with the return from Europe of Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, trained by that eminent Chinese scholar of France, the late Professor Sylvain Lévi. The Institute of Sino-Indian Culture in Chung-king and Santiniketan in Bengal is another link in the chain of revived fellowship between the two ancient lands. Chinese cultural missions are visiting India. We ought to reciprocate ; and such whole-hearted reciprocity will be possible only when we have a national government in India.

The friendly reaction of India and China towards each other has been spontaneous, and it was largely through higher culture. The translators of Chinese literature, men like Herbert Giles and Lionel Giles, Arthur Waley, and the rest, as well as interpreters of Chinese life like Pearl Buck and Lin Yu-tang, have done great service in this matter, both to China and to humanity at large. Similarly, men like Rabindranath Tagore, Mahatma Gandhi, Jawaharlal Nehru and Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, Charles Eliot and

Ananda Coomaraswamy, and others, and earlier Swami Vivekananda and Sister Nivedita, have worked on behalf of India. And in their present struggle against the unholy forces of Fascism and Imperialism, in their combination to resist actual or impending attack by the chauvinistic and anti-Asiatic forces that now dominate Japan, China and India are now being drawn closer to each other. May this friendship among the two great peoples of Asia, and two of the greatest in the world, never diminish, and be a force for good for the whole of mankind.

October, 1942.

HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL RESEARCH IN BALI

The small island of Bali, just to the east of Java, with its population of a million (of whom ninety-nine per cent. according to official accounts are still Hindus), is one of the distant outposts of Indian culture which is even now guarding with jealous care its common heritage with us. Practically the whole of Java—rich, populous with its forty millions, and highly cultured—has accepted Islam, but without abandoning their pre-Islamic Indian culture. The other islands also are either wholly or largely Muhammadan. But the people of Bali have remained faithful to the faith and the ways of their ancestors, who some twenty or fifteen centuries ago received Hindu culture and Hindu religion, and probably also some infusion of Hindu blood.

In 1927 I was privileged to tour in Bali and Java with Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, and at that time I had some opportunity of observing the Balinese people. They are pious and religious in their own way, and are intensely proud of their Hindu culture and religion. The Dutch made a complete conquest of the little island only as late as 1908, just over twenty years ago. They have treated the Balinese people in the way that a brave and chivalrous and unspoiled people deserve to be treated. They have not interfered with their laws and their ways ; and there being no necessity for it, they have not exploited them economically. So that the Balinese—their princes as well as the common people—seem to be quite content with their Dutch masters, whose rule does not seem to sit heavily on them, and does not appear to fleece them or bleed them. During

our tour we had plenty of occasion to remark upon the cordiality which obtained between the Dutch officials and the Balinese princes and people : and there was a sincerity about the affection that many of the Dutch officials we came to know felt for this most lovable people, which was quite convincing.

The Balinese are receiving the education that the Dutch have brought to them as well as to the peoples of the other islands of Indonesia—in Malay, the Hindi or Hindustani of Indonesia, and in Dutch. There is a great deal of inquisitiveness among this gifted people, and already there are some who have managed to learn English in addition to Malay, which is fairly common, and Dutch. They are interested in their own culture and their own past as much as any other people with a heritage of which they are conscious. There is a very living touch with their national literature, which is largely of Indian and Hindu-Javanese inspiration, —the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* taking an important place in this literature.

The artistic side of the life of Bali is attracting the European and American tourist, and Bali is gradually being brought to the forefront. In picturesque happiness of life, Bali may be said still to be in that elysium or paradise of our dreams which we Hindus are accustomed to place in the Ancient India of Ajanta or of Amaravati, of Mathura or of artistic ages earlier still. Here is a life which seems to look back to the past, but is now inevitably on the way to transformation through the forces of the *Zeitgeist* into something real and modern.

The scientific curiosity of Europe has not left Bali alone. Dutch scholars of eminence, with Hendrik Kern at their head, have applied themselves to the elucidation of Balinese culture, of the present as well as of the past. And the work of the Dutch scholars in investigating the laws and

life, history and antiquities, art and literature of Bali has received, it is a matter of congratulation to note, most intelligent and whole-hearted co-operation from the Balinese themselves. The local princes encourage the arts and crafts of the country with a conscious pride in them that is very refreshing to see. At Karang Asem in East Bali we found that cement castings of sculpture in the traditional way were being taken in the residence of the local prince to decorate his buildings, the stone found locally being of a soft volcanic composition which was not hard enough to stand weathering. The Poenggawa (*Puṅgava*) of Oeboed in Central Bali, a highly cultured gentleman who, we were told, was Kshatriya by caste and who wrote books and articles in Dutch on Balinese customs, and was the representative for Bali in the Central Legislative Assembly at Batavia to which members for the different parts of Dutch India came, made a present to the Batavia Museum of the beautiful specimens of Balinese wood-carving which decorated the huge *wadah* or catafalque carrying the remains of his deceased uncle to the cremation ground. The earnest desire of the Balinese priests, princes and people to be once more in cultural *rapprochement* with India was manifest everywhere—as much as in Java ; and in this the Dutch officers were frankly and freely sympathetic. There was a desire also among the priests and the chiefs to revive the study of Sanskrit. The Balinese use a large number of Sanskrit *mantras* in their religious ritual ; but they have lost the living touch with Sanskrit by ceasing to study the language, and these *mantras* have often become corrupt, and unintelligible, and mixed with Balinese.

One of the most enlightened and sympathetic Dutch officials in Bali is the Resident (District Officer) in charge of the islands of Bali and Lombok, Mr. L. J. J. Caron, whom we met on three occasions during our sojourn in Bali ; and his cultured and genial personality is one of our

pleasantest memories in our Java-Bali tour. At his instance a conference was called in June 1928 to set up a memorial to the memory of two Dutch scholars—F. A. Liefrinck and Dr. H. Neubronner van der Tuuk, who had done a great amount of pioneer's work in investigating the culture, customs and language of Bali. The memorial was to take the form of an institution to preserve one of the finest and most important things in Balinese culture—its treasures of palm-leaf MSS. The scope of such an institution naturally could not be confined to MSS. alone, and all departments of Balinese life and culture have come to be included. Dutch scholars in Java and Bali interested in the Hindu culture of Indonesia have identified themselves with this Institution, and it augurs well for this infant society that such scholars as Dr. Stutterheim, Dr. Goris and Dr. Pigeaud are among its active workers. The Balinese priests and princes have given it their whole-hearted support, and the Dutch administration has made an adequate financial contribution. The society or institution is thus an *Asiatic Society* in miniature for Bali and Lombok, with a collection of MSS. and art objects, and regular publications by the scholars who are conducting researches into things Balinese. The Institution has got a house and a name. At Singaradja, the capital of Bali, a small but fine structure has been provided for it, with a fire-proof safe-room in cement and iron to store the MSS. The building was opened formally for the public by His Excellency the Governor-General of Netherlands India, Jhr. Mr. A. C. D. de Græff, in September 1928 : the date of opening, in the Saka era, which obtains in Bali, is indicated by the *Chandra-sangkāla* or pictorial method—Saka Year 1850 being indicated at the gate-way by figures—a man (=1), an elephant (=8, *ashta-diggaja*), an arrow (=5, *pan'cha-bāṇa*) and a dead body (=zero or *s'ūnya*). On the gateway to the left and right are figures of Rama and Sita. The memorial institution

was at first named *Stichting Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk* ; but at the suggestion of a Balinese prince, I Goesti Poetoe Djlantik of Boeleleng, who took a very keen interest in its foundation, the Dutch word *Stichting*, meaning 'foundation', was changed for the Sanskrit-Balinese word *Kirtya* to give the proper Balinese *cachet* to the Society. The Sanskrit word *kīrti* (='glory, achievement, memorial') is used in Balinese in the form *kirtya*,—the pure Sanskrit form is not employed in Balinese ; and the Society is now known as *Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk.*

The *Kirtya* has begun work immediately, and through its publications, which already (December 1930) have come up to five numbers, we can form some idea of the very excellent work that Dutch scholars (with the assistance of the Balinese in some cases) are doing there. Two numbers of its *Mededeelingen* or Bulletins ; one Balinese historical text, the *Kidung Pamancangah*, edited in the Roman characters with notes by C. C. Berg, as the first volume in series of *Kirtya* editions of local texts that are contemplated ; and a fine two-volume work by Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, named *Oudheden van Bali* or 'Antiquities of Bali,' giving in its first volume an account of the State of Pedjeng and its antiquities and in its second volume some 130 plates and diagrams of these antiquities : these are already before us.

Dr. R. Goris, a young Dutch scholar, whose acquaintance I had the pleasure and privilege of making in Bali, is occupying himself with the literary and religious side of Balinese culture. He is living in Bali, in close touch with the people, studying their language and their religion ; and he is the heart and soul of the MSS. department of the *Kirtya.* A regular search for and cataloguing of MSS. is going on, and the collection at the *Kirtya* is being made not only with original MSS. whenever available but also with

copies carefully made by the *Kirtya* copyists. There are artists to make copies of the illustrated MSS. ; and palm-leaf MSS., with beautiful miniatures in the Balinese style scratched with the iron stylus used in writing, form a noteworthy item in Balinese art : similar miniatures on palm-leaf I have seen only in Orissa. Dr. Goris writes to me : 'You perhaps do know my method of gathering *lontars* (*i.e.* palm-leaf MSS.) ? We have started by asking from all the Poenggawas (=*puñgavas*, local chiefs) of Bali (numbering about 40) full lists of the *lontars* possessed by all the people of their districts. These lists are taken as the working basis for further activities. From these lists, some *lontars* are selected ; and these selection lists are sent back to the Poenggawas. Then after some days I am going to the districts to assemble the *lontars* asked for, I bring them home to the *Kirtya*, where they are examined and scrutinised for a possible copying. If they are complete and sufficiently well-written, they are taken to other Balinese men, spread all over the isle, who are able to copy them. This copying is paid from the funds of our *Kirtya*. After being copied, the originals are brought back to their owners, and the copies are safed in our *Kirtya*..... Our first wish is to have a *lontar*-book library as complete as possible. The further *desiderata* are : first, to make a new and more adequate catalogue of the Balinese (and Old Javanese) literature ; second, to further the edition, in transcribed text, with translation and notes, of the more important texts. It is now the right moment to start with many text editions, especially the religious and historical texts.'

In the first number of the Bulletin, the Librarian-adjoint of the *Kirtya*, a Balinese gentleman named Njoman Kadjeng (a number of princes and priests are acting as additional curators of the *Kirtya* in different parts of the island) has given in Dutch a preliminary bird's-eye view of the contents of Balinese literature. In this *aperçu* he has

divided Balinese works into six classes : (1) Veda—by which some *mantras* and ritual formulæ are meant ; (2) Agama—corresponding to our *Dharma-s'āstras* and including the *Nīti* literature ; (3) *Wariga*—astrology and other sciences, including works on cosmogony, mythology, grammar and metrics, and *Smara-tantra* or erotics, as well as *Usada* (*i.e*, *Aushadha*) or medicine ; (4) *Itihāsa*, epic works, in prose (*Parwa*) or in verse (*Kakawin*), on the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, besides stories of Javanese history and romance ; (5) *Babad* or historical works ; and (6) *Tantri*, or works on *Nīti* like the *Kāmandaka*, translated from Sanskrit, and local native Balinese compositions. Under the above six heads, with their sub-divisions, some 915 separate works have been named. All these are waiting investigation. In Bali there are still some Sanskrit MSS. in the Balinese character. At Karang Asem, the local prince, who is a keen student of his religion and its sacred literature, showed us a Sanskrit Tantric text, which he wrote out for us in Roman characters, and Rabindranath then translated for him the meanings of some of the *slokas*, and his English version was rendered by a Dutch friend into Malay for the prince who carefully wrote this Malay translation down. We can reasonably hope that something really important and helpful, or at least interesting, might be found in Bali in the way of a Sanskrit text.

In the second number of the Bulletin, an account is given of the extent of the MS. Collection of the *Kirtya*. There are now some 251 Balinese MSS., original or copied ; and there are some 13 Sasak MSS. (The Sasaks are the people of Lombok allied to the Balinese and were at one time ruled over by the Balinese—now these Sasaks are Muhammadans.) The Bulletins have published also short articles on different topics of Balinese history and antiquities.

The antiquarian researches in Bali are mainly in the

hand of Dr. W. F. Stutterheim, well-known as the author of a fundamental work in German on the story of Rama in Indonesia. His *Pictorial Introduction to Javanese History* is an excellent popular book for the subject with a wealth of illustrations visualising the history and culture of Java : this work, which ought to be in the history or art section of all libraries, is available in an English edition also, in addition to Dutch, Malay and Javanese editions. Dr. Stutterheim is the Principal of a Government College at Soerakarta in Java, where Javanese young people are given a good education in language, literature, history, philosophy and other cultural subjects. This school forms the nucleus of an Arts University for Java ; and under the direction of Dr. Stutterheim, it specialises in the history, literature and culture of Java. While at Soerakarta, I had the pleasure of forming Dr. Stutterheim's acquaintance, and of giving a talk to his students ; and it was a pleasant surprise for me to find that they followed my English quite well—rather a remarkable thing for young Javanese in their teens, who had to learn Dutch as their most important European language, and English was only a second foreign language for them. Readers of *Indian Arts and Letters*, the journal of the India Society of London, must have noticed Dr. Stutterheim's articles on archæological researches in Bali. Dr. Stutterheim's intensive archæological work in one district in Bali—that of Pedjeng—has given him very good results, in the shape of Sanskrit and Balinese inscriptions, and images of various sorts, beside other sculpture, beginning from the 8th century of the Christian era downwards. These inscriptions are mostly religious formulas and incantations, Buddhistic as well as Saiva and Sakta, and some of these are dated. The images are of the type found in Java, and are of the Bodhisattvas, and of Siva, Devi Mahisha-mardini, Ganesa and other Brahmanical deities, as well as of princes and princesses ; and these images will

compare very favourably with the art of Java and of the Indian mainland. The first fruits of historical excavation and research in Bali are given by the *Kirtya* to the outside world in the form of these two volums : the plates volume forms a most engrossing gallery of old Hindu-Balinese Art. A sketch of Balinese history, from the earliest times for which genuine records are available down to the close of the 14th century, has also been given. The only draw-back in these publications for the ordinary Indian reader is their language ; but one has to face the fact that the Dutch language is indispensable for any one who wishes to study the story of Greater India in Indonesia.

In the above sketch an attempt has been made to show what the *Kirtya* is trying to do in the investigation of Balinese history and culture, which has its significance for us in India primarily as a type of our own Indian history and culture in an extended India, a Greater India of the Islands. The people of Bali bear allegiance to the same Sanskrit culture as we do in India : but the development of certain elements of our common cultural heritage has been undoubtedly on different lines among the Balinese people from what has happened in India. For the reconstruction of the World of Ancient India, the lands of Greater India will supply us with a number of most valuable points. Bali, where a good many old Hindu institutions are still a living thing, albeit in an altered or modified shape, is in this respect the most important tract in this Greater India.

The *Kirtya* proposes to do something far more valuable for the Balinese people—and for India—than merely the antiquarian's work of conserving and studying for scientific purposes the remnants of Balinese culture. It has in its programme, mainly through the publication of a Balinese journal, the fostering and promoting of Balinese letters. This will be of very great intellectual and spiritual significance for the people of Bali. The *Kirtya* in this way will

be helping to bring in a revival of Balinese culture. By doing so, the *Kirtya*, as a gift from the Dutch people in their enlightened trusteeship of the Balinese people, will be doing them perhaps the greatest service of all. For the gifts of the spirit are superior to all other gifts. In this connexion, Dr. Goris writes to me (July 1930) : 'Another matter that perhaps will please you to hear of, is that we are starting with the publication of a Balinese monthly, dedicated to the Culture, Religion, Art and Literature of Bali. The subscription is already opened, and many collaborators (all Balinese) have already promised or actually sent their papers. As most of the subscribers wish the monthly printed in Balinese characters, we have concluded to a partial use of these characters, which are already ordered from Holland ; so after perhaps two months the new periodic will appear, in the Balinese and Malay languages, the Balinese partly in Balinese characters.' He further writes : 'The present Balinese have very vivid interest in the real Hinduism, and all that now to-day is remaining over there (*i. e.* in India) from the old religion, culture and art ; and so there exists a real desire to exchange the modern views about Hindu culture—exchange of ideas between Hindus and Balinese.'

For the above laudable purpose, what is wanted at the *Kirtya*, as the prospective focus of Balinese cultural life, are books and papers on Hindu subjects from India—embracing all the aspects of the life of the Hindus in ancient, medieval and modern times. Books in English will be put to use there. There are some English-knowing Balinese, and they, as pioneers in a newly revived cultural *rapprochement* between India and Bali (a *rapprochement* that may be said to have formally commenced with Rabindranath Tagore's visit to Bali in 1927), will, in the words of Dr. Goris, 'select the most important portions of these books and translate them into Balinese (or Malay) for their

brethren, so that all the interested Balinese people will share in the progress of knowledge about Hinduism as already attained by their Hindu brothers. These selected parts and compressed contents of the above mentioned studies are to appear in the Balinese monthly, of course with full mention and citation of the original Hindu authors.'

This Sixth All-India Oriental Conference I deem, as a member of the *Kirtya*, a suitable occasion to bring formally before the notice of Indian scholars the work that has been undertaken by the *Kirtya* ; and I also take this occasion to request help and co-operation from our scholars and our learned societies, our publishers and our patrons of learning in this connection. The University of Calcutta has already sent some of its publications to the *Kirtya* on the basis of exchange : and one would wish that other learned bodies with works on Indology should do the same. As our brothers in a common culture, howsoever it might have altered now both in India and in Bali, we should recognise and show our practical sympathy with a learned body which has taken upon itself to study the origins and development of Balinese culture, and also to foster it. The membership fee of the *Kirtya* is not excessive : and there are many ways of showing our sympathy for this institution. *Kirtya Liefrinck-Van der Tuuk, Singaradja, Bali, Netherlands India* is the address : and it may be hoped that the name and the work of the *Kirtya* will soon become familiar to all our Indologists and our students of Indian history and calture, both at home and abroad.*

*Read before the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference, Patna, December 19, 1930. A resolution was adopted at the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference offering its greetings to the *Kirtya* as the youngest Society which has Indonesian culture as a connected subject with Indology as its subject of research, and recommending to all oriental and learned bodies in India interesting themselves in the study of the Ancient Culture of India whole-hearted support and co-operation with the *Kirtya*.

IN AN ANCIENT INDIAN CITY

The word *civilisation* comes from Latin *cives*, meaning 'city'. So is also *politics* (Greek *polis*, 'city'). This idea of civilisation being fostered or developed in the city is found in the Arabic word for it—*tamaddun* (*tamaddunun*), which is derived from *madīna* (*madiynathun*), meaning 'a city'. Civilisation is primarily a city-product, whether in the West or in the East. After all, where many men meet, we get quickening of ideas, we get invention and discovery, and all-round material and intellectual progress from an extension of social and cultural life. But civilisation is not entriely confined to the city. Among many peoples with a highly developed system of agriculture, the country-side and the village also have had a great influence on civilisation and culture. This is so particularly in the realm of thought, rather than in that of material advancement. India is one of the countries in which civilisation has been largely a rural one.

But in India there was no lack of great cities, from the most ancient times onwards. We have finished cities, with many of the amenities of present-day civilized life like underground masonry drains and regular streets, in the oldest period of our history, as at Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa. This was long before the Aryans came. It is now agreed among scholars that the Aryans were a pastoral and agricultural people, party nomadic, who did not originate cities, but they were intelligent, and they adapted themselves to city-life wherever they found it, as in Italy, Greece, and India. Our urban life in India goes back to the big towns which grew up among the pre-Aryan peoples of the country—the Dravidians and, to some extent, also the Kols (Austrics). Vedic and Brahmanic culture is essentially a rural culture. But in the epics, the *Mahābhārata*

and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, particularly in the former, there is plentiful mention of cities ; which means that after the first epoch of Aryan culture in India, when a fusion of the Aryan and non-Aryan worlds took place, city-life received its proper importance in the civilisation of the Hindu people, which originated from this fusion of Aryan with non-Aryan, in blood as in culture,—only the Aryan's language became dominant and gave the tone and the outward hall-mark to the composite race and its religion and culture. So after the pre-historic cities built by the pre-Aryan peoples, the wonders of which as at Mohen-jo-Daro, Rajgir and elsewhere are being brought to light by the spade of the archaeological excavator, we have the historical cities Hindu India ;—the city-less world of the Vedic Aryans remaining an episode apart in the development of Indian town-life and material culture. These historical cities have mostly continued down to our day : where they have not done so, their traditions still linger. Thus we have Indra-prastha surviving in Delhi, and Mathura, Ayodhya, Kashi (Benares), Prayaga (Allahabad), Kanyakubja (Kanauj), Pataliputra (Patna), Gaya, Salatura (Lahore), Uraiyur or Uragapura (Madura), Kanchipura (Conjeeveram) and Ujjayini (Ujain) surviving as flourishing cities in or near their ancient sites through all the centuries. Others have been wiped out from the face of the earth, but not from memory : Hastinapura, Gonarda, and some more. Others, again, live in the pages of history, and have been conjured up by the archæologist, like Taxila, Nalanda, Sankisa (the ancient Sankasya), Saheth-Maheth (the ancient Sravasti), Rajgir (the ancient Rajagriha), Rumindei (the ancient Kapilavastu), Mahasthana, Amaravati (the ancient Dhanya-kataka), etc.

We have complete word-pictures reminiscent of ancient Hindu city-life, say from 1000 B.C. to 400 B.C.—in our literature—in the *Mahābhārata*, in the earlier *Purāṇas*, in

the Buddhist *Jātaka* literature, and in the earlier Buddhist and Jaina canons ; but actual survivals of these ancient cities in the shape of archæological remains are wanting. The earlier towns have all perished, and the reason seems to be that their architecture was mainly of wood, and, to some extent, of bricks burnt or sun-dried. It seems wood was used more than brick, as India was full of virgin forests in those days. Brick was confined largely to the comparatively treeless tracts like Sind. When stone architecture came in (presumably after a closer contact with Persia, when a part of North-Western India was conquered by the mighty Achæmenian emperors of Persia, towards the end of the 6th century B.C.), we begin to have permanent remains of Indian cities, and we have also pictures of Indian houses and cities as they looked then carved in bas-relief on stone. From after the Maurya period, and particularly from the 2nd century B.C., we have quite important evidence in contemporary archæological (architectural and sculptural) remains for reconstructing our ancient Indian cities, side by side with the allusions, references and descriptions that we find in the literature of the period—the *Mahābhārata*, the *Artha-śāstra* of Kautilya, the *Kāma-sūtra* of Vātyāyana, the *Nāṭya-śāstra* of Bharata, the Pali literature of the Buddhists, the Prakrit literatnre of the Jains, and the earlier dramas—*i.e.* Bhasa, and Sudraka the author of the *Mrichchhakaṭika*. In reconstructing the architecture and general plan as well as the organisation of ancient Indfan towns, researches of a most noteworthy character have been inaugurated by Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy : taking the sculptural representations of towns and town-life in ancient remains, and actual city-remains brought to light by excavation, he is explaining and co-ordinating them with the data obtained from early literature ; and, thanks to his labours, it is now becoming possible for us to visualise what our ancient Indian cities were like, and

to know more about their general plan and formation (See Coomaraswamy's *Early Indian Architecture*: 1. Cities and City-gates, etc., 2. Bodhi-gharas, pp. 208-235 : *Eastern Art, an Annual*, Vol. II, Philadelphia, 1930).

Indian life, once cast in the Hindu or ancient Indian mould some two thousand five hundred to three thousand years ago, has, on the whole, survived to our day. Despite the invasion and violent changes on the surface wrought by foreign conquerors, like the Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas, the Huns, and the Parthians, and later by Muhammadan Arabs, Turks and Persians, the general trend of life in India has remained substantially Indian. In the present paper, I shall cull such tit-bits of information from one of the oldest and best known of Sanskrit dramas, the *Mrichchhakaṭika* of Sudraka, as will give us glimpses of life in a city in India of eighteen hundred to two thousand years ago. These will show how largely the old has come down unchanged to our day, and how it is only within recent years that the face of things in India is being altered—in the city much more than elsewhere.

The drama *Mrichchhakaṭika*—'the Little Clay Cart' as it has been translated,—is certainly older than any of the works of Kalidasa, who, in the consensus of scholarly opinion at the present day, belongs to *c.* 400 A.D. We can put down the *Mrichchhakaṭika* to the 3rd century A.D., but the life it depicts could easily be representative of the life of even three of four centuries back. A full study of city-life based on contemporary literature and contemporary archæological and other remains, as in the lines indicated by Coomaraswamy, is certainly worth the attention of our Indological as well as sociological scholars.

For the city-life in ancient India of the period 200 B.C. to 200 or 300 A.D., we have a valuable pictorial commentary in the Bharhut and Sanchi sculptures, and in the Mathura school of sculpture of the Kushana period, and

the Nasik and Karli sculptures, as well as the Amaravati sculptures of the Andhra age. The life presented before us in the Ajanta frescoes is, largely, considerably later.

Let us follow the drama *Mrichchhakaṭika* scene by scene and act by act. The *Mrichchhakaṭika* is a play of rare human interest, with a universal appeal, and at the same time it is very topical and national. The city where the action takes place is Ujjayini, the present-day Ujain ; and conditions of life in a Malwa, Rajputana or Gujarat town, as also in a North Indian or Deccan town, have not changed much even at the present day. The Prologue, with which the play opens, gives us a pleasing picture of the home of an actor which is *en fête*—the actor's wife is having a feast which is a religious vow at the same time ; she will feast a Brahman, and incidentally also her lord, so that she may have a good husband (who is to be no other than her present one in his next incarnation) in her next life. Preparations are going on at home. The actor must go out to find a suitable Brahman, who would honour him and his people by taking a meal in his house. Actors were not an exalted caste, and as all Brahmans would not deign to take food in the house of an actor, he has to offer the inducement of a good *dakshiṇā* or extra present of money as an additional inducement. So our actor goes out and stands in the street, accosting a likely Brahman in the person of Maitreya, the friend of Charudatta, the hero of the play. Maitreya is busy, and he cannot accept the invitation, so our actor has to go about the streets, looking out for some other suitable Brahman.

Maitreya is now found conversing with Charudatta. The latter talks in a pensive and sad mood, befitting a once fashionable young blood in reduced circumstances. He has just finished his evening devotions, and wants Maitreya to go out and make a sacrifice to the Divine Mothers at a crossing—a place where four roads meet. This custom

has its counterpart at the present day still : flowers and other articles used in worship according to Hindu rites, *e.g.*, leaves, vermilion paint, turmeric, rice, are scattered at *carrefours* with the idea of driving away ill-luck and illness from somebody, it being believed that the luckless pedestrian who would tread upon these leavings from a *pūjā* will attract to himself the ill-luck or the illness. Our grand-mothers used to warn us in our childhood's days against unwittingly touching with our feet such flowers etc., which we would commonly enough find on an early morning lying scattered at a street-crossing. This practice used to be called *tuk*, and was quite a common magical procedure in Calcutta and elsewhere to pass on disease or ill-luck to an unwitting stranger, thirty or forty years ago. The old practice of offering worship to the Mothers noted in the *Mrichchhakaṭika* and the modern and almost dying-out practice of *tuk* in Bengal seem to be connected with each other. Maitreya finds pleas to be excused : why brother about the Gods, when they do not mend our resources ? 'Besides, at this hour of the evening, people are abroad upon the king's high-way—courtezans, courtiers, and royal favourites',—in fact, not a very respectable crowd, out, in a big city, for revelry and devilry, scandalising all staid people, honest citizens, and making fun of such of them as would be unlucky to fall in their midst ; for Maitreya is apprehensive—'they will take me now for fair prey, just as the black snake out frog-hunting snaps up the mouse in his path.'

At other times, Maitreya, after a heavy feast of sweets at his friend Charudatta's, would not mind standing and 'chewing the cud like a bull in the city-market' ; and this simile would hold true of any Hindu *mohallá* in a North Indian town of the present day.

Maitreya was afraid of courtezans and courtiers and the king's favourites treating him with mockery and indignity

as a simpleton of a Brahman, in the evening at a street-crossing. These people literally come at his very door in the next scene,—the courtezan Vasanta-sena, the heroine of the play, who, on coming out into the street hoping to meet her lover Charudatta, is followed with pestering tenacity by Sansthanaka, a brother-in-law of the king and a *persona grata* in the city. Sansthanaka is accompanied by two of his satellites, one a cultured man-about-town, who is half a secretary and half a parasite to rich young rakes, and the other an ordinary domestic. Vasanta-sena's own attendant —a man and two girls—have somehow fallen off from her company, and she is afraid of being molested, and that in the king's highway too, by the importunate Sansthanaka and his men.

She overhears Sansthanaka remarking that Charudatta's house is close at hand ; and there she determines to get in, to escape her unwelcome admirer. It is pitch dark now—there was no street-lighting in those days. Elsewhere, we learn from this very scene that for people to go out into the street on a dark night, torches were lighted. When the moon arose, however, there was no difficulty ; the moon was 'the night-lamp on the king's high-way.' Street-lighting came into vogue in Europe in the 18th century. We learn from Raja Jay Narayan Ghoshal's account of Benares in the last quarter of the 18th century that in the narrow lanes of old Benares, rich citizens, owners of the big houses, used to place lamps at their windows for the benefit of wayfarers. The functions of a city municipality were thus voluntarity undertaken by rich people, as an act of charity and public beneficence. But we do not know how old was this custom : certainly there is no reference to it in the *Mrichchhakaṭika.*

Maitreya now comes out with Radanika, Charudatta's maid-servant, carrying a lamp, to do his friend's bidding, namely, worshipping the Mothers at the street-crossing.

They are coming out into the street through a side-door, and this is Vasanta-sena's opportunity. Standing close to the wall she blows out the lamp, which is evidently a simple open lamp of terracotta, like a Modern Indian *diyā* or *chirāg* or *pradīp*, before she is seen, and gets inside Charudatta's house. Sansthanaka, searching for Vasanta-sena in the darkness, gets hold of Radanika by mistake. Maitreya comes out with a new lamp, and he is furious af the unseemly behaviour of Sansthanaka and his party—he does not know anything about Vasanta-sena. Sansthanaka's party move off, but he leaves a threat for Charudatta as Vasanta-sena has taken refuge with him. Gentlemen accompanying ladies to give them protection in the streets was quite in in keeping with the social manners of the age, and Charudatta gallantly accompanies Vasanta-sena back to her home. She, however, leaves her jewels in his custody for the night : she has had enough of hooligans of the type of Sansthanaka, and does not want to run the risk of being robbed by real footpads.

In the next act we have some more bits of informatiou about social ways as well as street-sights and scenes. All good Hindus—courtezans or *hetairai*, Vansanta-sena included—did their daily worship ordinarily, but there were paid Brahman priests, as now, to officiate on their behalf. Among well-known professions in a city in those days was that of the shampooer (*Sanvāhaka*) : we have them still, particularly near about the bathing-ghats by the river. It seems public baths, as in ancient Rome and in the Arab cities, were unknown in an ancient Indian town, but masseurs, employed to rub oil on the body before a bath in a tank or a river, formed a numerous company. Some of the members of this profession were addicted to gambling, which was a common enongh vice, as it is still in many Hindu towns. Formerly gambling-houses licensed by the State (known as a *ṭeṇṭa-śālā* : there is a very realistic description of it in the

Old Maithili work the *Varṇa-ratnākara* of Jyotirisvara Thakura of about 1325 A.D.) formed a feature of all big towns. These gambling saloons, as can be geussed, were frequented by the same class of people as now in Europe : and from a Prakrit term of abuse for women, *ṭeṇṭā-karālā*, we can understand that women of a class would be found about these saloons. A shampooer who cannot pay up his dues in the gambling saloon runs away and hides in a deserted temple, from which the image has been removed (*deva-suṇṇu deulu*). But he is caught, and his creditors, who have been searching him, begin to beat him. He must pay, even by selling into slavery his relations—his father, his mother—even himself ; and so he begins to shout out in the public, offering himself as a slave to do the work of a house-servant to any one who will pay ten gold coins to his creditors. Ultimately he runs away and takes shelter in the house of Vasanta-sena, who kind-heartedly frees him from his creditors by paying them.

In this act we have a vivid description of what may be described as the only kind of a serious street accident, which could take place in an ancient Indian city. In ancient Indian towns, as in towns elsewhere, streets were narrow, and street traffic was mostly pedestrian. There were palanquins borne by men, and these did not or could run over passers-by. Of vehicular traffic, there were bullock-carts, whether rough country-carts (with solid wheels in some parts of India) for goods, or elaborately carved and decorated *raths* and other carriages for well-to-do people to ride in. These never had any quick pace or speed, and unless one had made up his mind to hurt himself by being run over, no one underwent the risk of an accident in the street from them. Horse-chariots—two-wheeled carts—as in classic Greece or Rome, with two or four horses abreast, were used only in war, in pre-Christian times, and by the royalty ; and in a street in the city, they would be used

more for processional display rather than for quick locomotion. Early in the Christian era, these horse-chariots fell ont of use. Horse-riding was there in plenty, in an Indian city of the North particularly, but riders did not present a a serious problem in city traffic. The peculiarly Indian mode of locomotion in those days and in later times was elephant-riding, which was practised to a much wider degree in all the towns of India ; and here was a very frequent source of street-accidents. For not infrequeutly, riding elephants would get *must*, *i.e.*, would turn rogue temporarily, and would be out of hand ; and a *must* or a mad elephant, running amock through the crowded streets, was, as an intelligent animal turned ferocious, a greater and a more certain source of damage to life and property than a runaway automobile. A high-speed car driven recklessly ordinarily crashes against somebody or something and then it is stopped ; it cannot usually repeat the damage. But a mad elephant rushes on, and to tackle it is difficult and dangerous. In the *Mrichchhakaṭika*, one of Vasantasena's servants narrates how a mad elephant rushed through the streets, scattering people, and overturning stalls, and finally it seized a way-faring monk between its trunk and tusks, and was about to dash him down and trample him to death when Karna-puraka, the valiant servant, stepped in, and, diverting the elephant's attention by hitting him with an iron bar, extricated the half-dead monk, with all the crowd applauding. Ladies would go up to the balcony to see the commotion in an event like this. We have a well-known bas-relief, one might say almost contemporary with the drama, from Amaravati in Kistna District, in the Telugu country, which is now in the Madras Museum. It admirably illustrates this kind of street-accident in ancient India : only the story is an episode from the life of Buddha, which tells us how the great Teacher quelled such a mad elephant merely by his presence. In this bas-relief, the elephant is

shown twice, first in the mad career holding with its trunk an unfotunate passerby by his feet, and secondly bowing down in humble submission before the calm figure of Buddha. Pedestrians are running away in fear, and among them are a man with an umbrella, and a woman catching hold of a man by his neck in fear. Upon an open balcony in the second story of a house are women excitedly looking on.

A servant of Charudatta, waiting for his master, who is late in coming back from a music party where a famous musician sang and played on the harp, introduces the next act. These musical gatherings, then as now, formed one of the higher pleasures of city-life. It is late at night that these music-lovers, Charudatta and Maitreya, come back. The dogs have ceased their barking and 'are sound asleep in the shops that look out on the market.' The moon has set, and it is dark. We can visualise the scene in any provincial town in India at the present day. Getting home, they must wash their feet, for this was the clean and wholesome Indian custom even when people had shoes on, a custom we are fast giving up, although we have now only sandals and light shoes as much as in the ancient days. The main action of this act is the burglary of Vasanta-sena's jewels, entrusted to Charudatta. Sarvilaka, the thief, enters the house by making a a hole in the brick-wall. House-breakers had raised their profession to an art, with the god Skanda, or Karttikeya, son of Siva, as their guardian deity, and, evidently, the more fastidious among them, like Sarvilaka, would scorn to dig a mere hole through the wall to squeeze themselves in ;—they would make some elaborate passage, shaped like a lotus, or a cistern, or the crescent moon, or the sun, or an oblong, a cross, a bulging pot, which would be admired the next morning by people. We are given all details about how this particular house-breaking and robbery was effected, but as these do

not form any specially characteristic trait in city-life in ancient India, we pass it by.

In the fourth act, we have an inkling of a city riot against an unpopular king, which is to cost him his throne. The ruling king, Palaka, evidently is an unjust ruler : favourites like Sansthanaka, the villain of the piece, flourish under him. He has imprisoned a young man, named Aryaka, on the suspicion that he is a possible aspirant to the throne. Aryaka's friends, including Sarvilaka, the young gentleman who is in love with a slave-girl of Vasanta-sena,—to redeem whom from her mistress he is not above perpetrating the burglary in Charudatta's house and who has been allowed by Vasanta-sena to take her slave-girl away as his wife,—now joins the party against the king. Such riots and revolutions were frequent enough in the towns when a weak ruler was on the throne, and it seems the country-side did not have much say in the matter,—the politics of the State were apparently guided by the City.

In this act we have a gorgeous description of Vasanta-sena's palace,—a description, evidently faithful to life, from which we can form some idea of the magnificence and the lavish appointments of a very rich person's house in ancient India. The house is entered by the front-gate, and has iron-and-wood doors, and is adorned with gay banners and festoons of flowers. There are jars of auspicious omen with green mango twigs on them,—a custom which is followed even now. Overlooking the street, evidently, as they are immediately behind the entrance gate, are rows of balconies such as we still see in Rajputana towns. These were unquestionably of wood, as they used to be till recently in Gujarat and Sorath towns. We see representations of such balconies at Bharhut and Sanchi, and at Mathura and Amaravati. Following this are the stables for draught cattle—bullocks and buffaloes, and

stalls for horses and elephants. There is also a fighting ram, well-tended. It is curious to note that in Ujjayini of 2000 years ago, a monkey used to be kept tied to a post in the horses' stable, as is still the custom in India. Now-a-days the automobile has all but driven away the horse; but formerly in all stables in Calcutta, whether in a rich man's stable, with masonry floor and proper manger where his Walers and Arabs used to be kept, or in a hack-driver's stall, where the humble *ticka-gharry* ponies used to be tethered in mud and stable-litter, a monkey was a constant feature. It was believed that a monkey used to ensure well-being to horses. Evidently the idea is very old in India, and it deserves closer enquiry from zoologists and veterinary doctors. In Vasanta-sena's palace, following the stables, are a drawing-room, with seats and books, and games tables, and pictures. Then there is a music chamber, with all kinds of instruments. Following this, is the kitchen. The household of Vasanta-sena was not a vegetarian one. Then comes the sixth court or section of the house, where various kinds of craftsmen and jewellers are employed for the household. The seventh court is an aviary, with all sorts of birds, and the eighth a garden and orchard, where Vasanta-sena was waiting to receive Maitreya with the message from Charudatta.

The fifth act is full of the rainy season, the most popular season with the poets and people of India. The wonderful poetry of the Sanskrit verses seems to refer to the country-side rather than the crowded city, and a city in ancient times was a walled place, not like many unwalled towns that we know, like our Navadwip and Dacca, which are really a conglomeration of a number of villages From this act, as from other Sanskrit literature, we get a good glimpse of morals and manners in those days, when a young woman—a *hetaira*, or even a girl of good family—would go to meet her lover at an appointed tryst, through rain and

through darkness: a situation (*abhisāra*, as it is technically known), which has been made much of in Hindu poetry and Hindu art through the ages.

Ladies of good families would make long journeys within the city in covered bullock-carts. The cover seems to have been just a red awning pulled over the frame or body of the carriage as in the ox-drawn *raths* of Rajputana and Malwa. The driver, who was seated in front between his bullocks, and the rider, who would mount from behind, would not be able to see each other; and this brought about Vasanta-sena's getting into the clutches of Sansthanaka by entering the latter's carriage by mistake. The narrow lanes would be blocked by bullock-carts, some coming from the villages; and this would give rise to an occasional street-jam, particularly when the roads were full of ruts, which would be cleared by the drivers helping each other and putting their shoulders to the wheel.

Street doors, it seems, were generally kept shut,—it was exceptional to find them left open.

There was active policing of all high-ways to stop egress from the city of escaped prisoners and others who were to be prevented from escaping, and there were conscientious police officers as well as slack ones, the latter being awed by a name and not searching a suspected carriage as they ought to have done. An escape from the city-walls out into one of the old gardens, which were on the outskirts of the city, and the person was free, particularly if he was closely hid in a covered carriage.

The city in ancient India, had gardens with pleasure-houses inside and outside the walls as in other lands. A grim episode in the drama took place in such a garden, where Sansthanaka, the villain, throttled Vasanta-sena and left her for dead.

We have a full report of a criminal case in the ninth act. The whole process is remarkably business-like.

There depositions of witnesses apparently used to be written down, includiug statements that would go against them. There is proper examination of witnesses by the judge. But the liberties taken by a man like Sansthanaka with his constant interference considerably interrupted the proceedings. Circumstantial evidence led the guilt of the alleged murder of Vasanta-sena to be ascribed to Charudatta, and he was condemned to death. Torture was used to extort a confession, as the judge's remarks make it clear.

The last act tells us about the more gruesome aspects of city-life to, wit, the preparations for an execution. A prisoner condemned to death for a criminal offence was taken in procession to the execution ground, which used to to be in the crematorium and place for the disposal of the dead outside the city. This custom was in vogue till very late times, and the south was the proper direction for the crematorium as the south was the realm of Yama, the God of Death, as we find, *e.g.*, in the latter Bengali expression *Dakṣiṇ Maśān*, or southern cemetry, where condemned men were executed. The prisoner was adorned with a chaplet of red oleanders round his neck, with red sandal paste on his hody and powdered rice-cereals, and his guilt was proclaimed by beat of drum. Death was either by beheading or by the more barbarous method of impaling. Executions used to be made public dlsplays till recently ; public executions now occur only during wars, or periods of great political unrest, when the intention is to terrorize.

A drama like the *Mrichchhakaṭika* throws considerable light on life in the city in ancient India. And it will show that, although lacking in most of the amenities and creature-comforts of the present day, this life was just as much fraught with chance and endeavour as now ; and that on the social and material side, a considerable part of this old city-life of India has continued down to our day.

November, 1934.

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THE STUDY OF TOWN LIFE & ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEED FOR CITY MUSEUMS

I

It is only the town which can produce civilisation and higher culture, material and intellectual. A large group of people must first gather together, whether for security or for material advancement, and thus form a town or city, before corporate life which is the basis of all politics and civilisation can develop. Even a folk-culture of the country-side is dependent on fairs and periodical gatherings, on feasts and festivals, which attract men from far and near and quicken their intellects and their faculties, while meeting their commercial and social, and spiritual and esthetic needs. A people in order to possess the necessary focus or nucleus of civilization and settled government must develop one or more cities in its midst. Civilisation, a city product, must of course be vitalised by a living contact with the country: the city is the peak or top, the country the base of corporate life.

The history of all civilisations begins with these cities or large settlements. The prehistoric kitchen-midden indicates a gathering of men and women in a settlement or large village which was the prototype of the later city. All the great cultures of antiquity have thus emanated from cities—in Mesopotamia, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, in Iran, in India, in China and in pre-Columban America. It is when material culture has sufficiently advanced through corporate city life, and life has become to some extent sophisticated, that the country or the forest, the desert or the mountain offers retreat or asylum 'far from the madding

crowd', to thinkers and devotees who want to merge into themselves for wisdom or for realisation. The forest hermitage in ancient India, too, post-dated the first city : Mohen-jo-Daro is undoubtedly older than any sylvan *āśrama* or retreat of an Upanishadic sage. The thoughts and intuitions of the sage and saint in forest, mountain or desert supplemented the material culture produced in the city by the merchant and the labourer, the builder and the artisan.

The importance of the city in the cultural history and cultural life of a people cannot be too highly estimated. In smaller states, frequently the history of its chief city is its whole history : and sometimes in large states and even empires as well. Babylon, Nineveh, Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Baghdad, Delhi, Tenochtitlan (Mexico), Cuzco, Vijayanagara—these bear eloquent testimony to that. From the very nature of the case, the study of the material aspects of ancient civilisation has resolved itself into archæology—into the excavation of ancient town remains, their ruins, their sites, and whatever fragments of work created by the hand of man congregating in these towns is made available for study by the spade of the archæological worker.

There are certain cities which can trace their history to a high and, sometimes, remote antiquity, and this history is either documented or undocumented. Leaving aside the lesser towns (as *e.g.*, in Mesopotamia, which inherit at least the terrain of the Chaldean towns of very ancient date), one can mention Athens and Rome in Europe, and Delhi and Benares in India. Every one knows the importance of such cities, and archæologists and historians are occupied in unravelling the past of some of them. The study of the remote past, or very ancient past, which is rather removed from the later history of such a town (which only we see continued to our day), is a proper subject for ancient or early history. The average individual is not immediately

interested in the attempt at rehabilitation by scientific history and in an appraisement of the civilisation of any highly ancient or remote epoch, although the cultural value of such is study is admitted by all. Rather, one would like to know a little more about the earlier phases of the kind of civilisation or city life which we have inherited and which, despite the changes which are inevitably coming in, largely hold even now.

A city with a fairly high position in the life of a nation, populous and prosperous, which has inherited an ancient name and a continuity of tradition for at least a few hundred years, or may be a thousand years or more, has a duty to itself and to the people among whom it grew to preserve all the vestiges of that name and tradition. Old monuments, old names, and typical buildings illustrative of the successive periods in the history of the city, should be religiously maintained intact ; old records and documents, and specimens of old arts and crafts practised in the city, should be collected and preserved suitably, in order to enable both the average citizen and the serious student to form some idea of and study deeply the life and culture of the city in earlier times.

II

Many years ago, when I made a prolonged stay in the city of Gaya, the necessity for making a close study of the life and administration of an old town struck me forcibly. Gaya is a town of over 70 thousand people, the headquarters of Gaya district and the heart of the area in which the Magahi dialect of Bihari, the home-language of over 6 millions of people, is spoken. Its municipality embraces the old town of Gaya and the newer extensions as at Sahibganj, which have grown up during the last fifty years. Naturally enough, it is the old town which is most interesting. A town had grown up round the Brahmanical

temple of Vishnupad on the bank of the Phalgu river on an earlier settlement which dated from the time of Buddha and before. The present town has buildings and documents (in the shape of inscriptions) which are over a thousand years old. Centering round the shrine of Vishnupad and the ancestral cults which have now become pan-Indian (all good Hindus from distant parts of India must come to Gaya and perform the ceremony of the *sradh* in honour of their parents at the temple enshrining the sacred foot-print of Vishnu on a rock), the town obtained its special position as an important seat of Hindu religion, which has endured from pre-Muhammadan times down to our day. There are remnants of Sunga (perhaps Maurya) times, and there are Gupta sculptures, within the temple precincts of the Vishnupad ; and Pala remains are quite plentiful. The earlier, pre-Muhammadan houses and structures, however, except in the case of a few temples, have not survived ; their ruins have merely been built over ; and undoubtedly it is due these successive strata, one above the other, that the ridge-like height of the old town along the bank of the Phalgu river has had its origin. As it is, old Gaya of the present day is scarcely two or three hundred years old in its structures ; and its general lay-out is hardly much older than the present-day Vishnupad temple built by Queen Ahalya Bai of Indore during the second half of the 18th century.

After Gaya became, under the British, the head-quarters of the district of Gaya, it developed another importanee than its original one as a Hindu religious centre. Out of this arose a need for expansion, and the old walled town of Gaya, which had grown along the Phalgu river, was not suitable for this expansion, as it appears to have been already fully built up, occupied mostly by the residences of the important and prosperous priestly families of Gayawal Brahmans and by shops and lodging-houses for pilgrims.

Other people from outside came to participate in the expanding life of the town, and the Gayawals, congregating within the old town, and keeping themselves aloof from modern education and culture, found themselves in the back-water. The old town dwindled in importance, except for its temple; its old many-storied houses and its narrow lanes, its undulations and up-and-down structures and passages along the ridge by the river side, were looked down upon by new-fashioned and 'progressive' Sahibganj, which boasted of wider (but very hot and dusty) streets and one-storey bungalows set in the midst of arid and equally dusty compounds. The old town, like the 'old towns' in most Indian cities, became neglected as out-of-date, and was considered by the more 'advanced' sections as fit only to broken up and rebuilt.

The result is that the old town of Gaya now presents a ruined appearance. Some of the older streets form a veritable Pompeii. Pilgrim traffic, with the housing of pilgrims who come in their thousands, is no longer left to the tender mercies of the Gayawals and their myrmidons : Marwari munificence has built some palatial *dharma-śālās* for pilgrims outside the precincts of tho old town, and this has been a real boon for many. Although a large number of pilgrims still prefer to stay within the old city, in the pilgrim houses (now regulated by the municipality) owned by the Gayawals, many of these now have no use, and they are in ruins. The Gayawals themselves are a dying caste, and many of their palaces, too, are empty or are in ruins. All this, combined with the niggardly neglect of the old town by the municipality, has made old Gaya a veritable deserted city and a city in ruins.

III

Still, this neglected and tumble-down old city has for me a charm of its own. The old town rises from the flat

western side to the high ridge by the river in the east. A few of its streets leading to the river are just flights of steps, and houses appear to be built as on the slope of a hill. The descent into the river in the old town is from on high, and there are *ghats* or flights of stairs as at Benares. There is a main street, the street of shops, linking the north gate with the south one, with other lanes going east and west, the former leading to the river and the main temple of Vishnu's foot-print. The walls on the west have been pulled down long ago, but portions of the north and south walls remain, with the gates and the bastions on either side, and remains of ancient quarters for guards and officials who doubtless levied toll on articles entering the town.

For me, born and brought up in Calcutta, it was a great joy to wander about these lanes, and to go up and down with their rising and down-hill curves. In the residential parts, the old palatial buildings, with their high plinths, their high porticoes with carved doors (frequently with the figure of Ganesa in them), mostly reached by a flight of stairs, their stuccoed walls, and their carved-wood balconies and latticed windows in frames, their walls sometimes white with lime-wash and gay with paintings below and mellowed brown with the weather above, possess an ineffable charm for me, concentrating in them the romance of the past. There is plenty of green along the river, in the courtyards and lane-crossings : quivering *peepuls*, and *neem* trees, tamarinds, and *mungas* or *sajinas*. There are more palatial houses along the main street, with corbelled verandas on carved parrot-beams, tarred black, and lattices in the upper storey. Now there are water-taps everywhere, but old wells are in plenty, generally in the outer court-yard of the house. The main street, or street of shops, particularly towards the temple end, is delightful, with typical Indian stalls or bazaars, selling the kind of ware pilgrims love to

carry back home and keep as prized possessions : cups and bowls of coloured soft stone veined like marble ; fine black stone plates and saucers, ringing with a metallic sound ; and carved stone figures—all this stone-ware being a speciality of Gaya ; coarse all-wool blankets, hand-spun and hand-woven, in thin strips sewn together, cheap and durable, lasting a generation ; light woollen wraps and *dhotis* from Rajputana, dyed bright scarlet, orange, or yellow ; stamped and dyed cloths—*dhotis* and *saris*—from Mathura and Brindaban, the delight of boys and girls ; brass-ware of all sorts—of local Bihar make, and from Vishnupur in Bengal, as well as from Benares ; copper plates with the foot-print of Vishnu engraved on them. Certain local sweet-meats have also added to the fame of Gaya : the well-known *peḍā* made of thickened milk and flavoured with saffron, and round cakes of *til-kūṭ* made from sesamum and sugar ; and, besides, last but not least, the famous Gaya tobacco for smoking in the *hookah*.

There is plenty of the picturesque, plenty to please the antiquarian, and plenty to make the lover of the old and the beautiful to cast a wistful glance on the vestiges of a life that is fast disappearing, on remnants of the spacious days of the past. There are of course smells ; for the sanitation of the town is not well-looked after. But even Sahibganj, in its congested parts, is not free from smells either. But the flagged streets are cool, they have no dust, and not much mud either after a shower of rain.

IV

Walking through the streets of this old Gaya, I was wondering how the town was administered, and what kind of life the people led, before the advent of the English municipality. The town was doubtless congested in some places ; what arrangements were made, and who made them, for sanitation and cleaning ? The wells, and the

river (the sand-bed is dug for clear water to gather in pools) supplied enough water for the city. But how about other matters ? Was there any street-lighting ? What policing was there ? What kind of cultural pursuits and amusements did the people have ? Who were the master-masons who built these houses ? Questions like these arose in my mind. All these are social and cultural problems of very great interest. And the pre-municipal stage of a city like Gaya is not yet so remote. Administration records, early municipal documents, and family papers of the important Gayawal families—these are among the sources or materials to reconstruct the life and administration of what may be called 'late medieval' Gaya.

Similar questions arise in my mind when I wander through the narrow streets—one should say lanes—of old Benares along the river. I like the cool stone flags of these lanes and the high houses and old-fashioned palaces that flank them and keep them cool during the heat of the day ; I like their dustlessness, their qulet—no jangling *ekka* or hooting motor-car to disturb your peaceful peregrination there—only you must not run against the mules or the wide-eyed cows or the big humped 'Brahminy' bulls which are only too plentiful in the narrow lanes. A walk through the new town of Sikraul means a dust-bath in the hot sun, and makes you long for a refreshing bath in cold water when you return home. Not so the lanes of old Benares. They are often dirty, it is true,—especially in some quarters ; but it is the habit of a people which is losing all sense of social discipline through the irresponsibility and the slovenliness that come from long foreign rule. And we must remember that the old quarters of Benares are not looked upon with favour by our 'advanced' city-fathers. However, old Benares is there—an inheritance from the last three to four hundred years. (The older Benares, of pre-Muhammadan and pre-Christian

times, was mainly along the Barna river in the north). What means have we got to know something about the past history of this old Benares, its life, its economy, its cuiture,—and how was it administered, with its advantages and its problems ?

I think materials to reconstruct it all are not absolutely wanting. We have no plethora of materials, it is true ; there has not been unfortunately that continuity of recorded transactions in the life of a city which we might very well envy the cities of Europe. But frequently we have family records where public records are lost ; and occasionally interesting and valuable accounts left by earlier contemporaries, local or outside Indian, or foreign. Thus for Benares we have an important piece of evidence for the life and administration of the town in the late 18th century from the pen of a cultured Bengali aristocrat, who was also a Sanskrit scholar, who settled there. Raja Jay Narayan Ghoshal of Bhu-kailas, now included within Calcutta, wrote an account in Bengali of Benares as he saw it during the last quarter of the 18th ceutury ; and this work, already in print under the auspices of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad of Calcutta, is a valuable document for reconstructing the civic and social life of 18th century Benares.

Other old Indian towns, like Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Surat, Lucknow, Jaipur, Udaipur, Dhar, Ujain, Ahmedabad, Poona, Bijapur, Tanjore, Madura, Conjeeveram, Puri, Patna, Vishnupur, Murshidabad, Dacca, etc., which can boast of some sort of civic life as a political, commercial, or religious centre extending through the centuries, are similarly lacking in proper studies of their life and culture. their economy and administration, simply because we have not directed our attention to them. With the progress of time, the cities are changing their outward appearance. Old buildings and old vestiges are disappearing, and so far there appears to be no attempt at conservation. I think it

is high time that the municipal corporations in our Indian cities realized the necessity of having a department for the study of the earlier history of the town, in its social life, its culture, its administration. At least, such a study should receive encouragement from the municipalities of of our Indian towns.

V

When in Europe, the special 'city museums' in the important towns of England and the Continent struck me as something which was very important for a city which had a history and a tradition. Our Indian cities, the more important ones at least, should have such 'city museums'. These are not to be just archaeological museums. These museums will house documents, records, plans, pictures, artifacts, and all other things that have a bearing on the life and administration of the town at any time of its history. Public papers and documents of historical value ; maps and plans illustrating the growth of the city ; pictures showing its architectural progress, the development of the dwelling house from decade to decade and century to century—whenever this history can be traced ; family documents bearing on the history of the town or its illustrious sons, or on aspects of social, economic or public life—wherever these are available ; a representative collectien of its arts and crafts (where can we see, *e.g.*, in Calcutta, a representative collection of Kalighat *paṭs*, and an entire series of the mythological and other coloured lithographs which used to be printed in Calcutta from the eighties of the last century onwards ?) ; the records of its guilds and societies, giving a valuable picture of its social and intellectual life ; documents and objects relating to the stage, if the city has developed (like Calcutta) a theatre of any importance ; its public conveyances ; its sanitation through the decades ; records or mementos of stirring events, good or

bad ; all these, and scores of other aspects of the life of the city, should be represented with as great completeness as possible, in a city museum.

Such a museum can easily develop into a veritable centre of research not only for the study of the history and culture of the country, but also for the benefit of the city-life of the present day by suggesting improvements and warnings from successes and failures in the past. Calcutta, which has such a varied life and has the proud distinction of being the second largest city in the British Empire, may easily give the lead in this matter. The city has not a long or hoary tradition—its history goes back only to the 15th century, when, as Bipradas Piplai who wrote a long narrative poem on the Behula legend during the last decade of the 15th century testifies, it was already in existence as a small village, 'Kalikātā', which had one manufacture from which it derived its name, viz. that of shell-lime (the Bengali word *kali*, pronounced *koli*, means 'shell-lime for white-washing', and *kātā* means 'burnt shell ready for being treated with water to form shell-lime', a word still current in that sense in North Bengal, but now become obsolete in South Bengal : it is absurd to suggest that the Bengali *Koli-kātā* is derived from the Bengali *Kālī-ghāṭ*). In a similar manner, the 'balls of cotton yarn' *Sūtā-nuṭi*—of which there seems to have heen a market in the village immediately to the north of Calcutta, attracting Armenian and Portuguese buyers from the 16th century onwards, gave the name of *Sootanooty* to that village, now absorbed in the Chitpur and Baghbazar areas. In the early 18th century, this village of *Koli-kātā* extended along the river from the south of what is now Nimtollah Burning Ghat to the north of Koylaghat, and in the interior as far as Cornwallis Street, but gradually, owing to the British factory and fort being built in its south, the town that grew up round the fort took up the name of Kalikātā (Angli-

cised as *Calcutta*) and gradually absorbed the surrounding villages, now extending its far-flung tentacles north and south, east and west across the river and for miles around. For the history of Calcutta from the 16th century onwards, there ought to be a collecting of materials in a central municipal department ; and these materials are fairly rich from the end of the 18th century onwards. European writers have done a lot of work, but the growth of Calcutta as a Bengali city, the head and heart of Bengal, is a story yet to be told, and it is a story in which the people of the whole of Bengal are vitally interested.

Life in Bengal has been mainly a village life, and medieval Bengali culture before the growth of Calcutta under the British has been on the whole a product of the big village rather than of a true city. This was also the case for many other parts of India. The few towns that medieval Bengal developed—with the exception of perhaps Gaur and Vishnupur—would appear to have been just a number of contiguous villages. A city like Ujain, Agra, Lahore, Benares, or Vijayanagara, and like scores of others elsewhere in India, never developed in Bengal. Hence we have the tremendous importance of Calcutta in the life of the Bengali. For corporate civic life, Calcutta, as the creation of the British in Bengal, ushered in a new era, and Calcutta stood for a life and a world of ideas which were quite distinct from that of these village communities, which were excellent in their own way. The study of the life and administration of a city should also take note of the historical background, the setting of the stage on which the *tableaux* take place. Hence it would mean the study of the culture of the people as a whole, in both town and country. In co-operation with the universities and other learned bodies, and by inaugurating city museums, and encouraging the historical and other enquiries into the cities' affairs, municipalities in India should take up as

early as possible the investigation of this much-neglected subject—the study of the life and administration, of the civics and economics, the history and culture of the towns with which they are connected.

November, 1936.

SCULPTURE AS TOWN-DECORATION AND SOME CALCUTTA SCULPTURES

I

To adorn a city by means of that oldest form of plastic art—Sculpture—is an old and a time-honoured usage. It was more common in ancient Egypt and ancient Greece than anywhere else, and it originated in ancient India and other lands also independently. The sculptured monuments of Assyria and Babylonia can be placed in the same rank with those of Egypt, Greece and India. Those of ancient Mexico have also an honoured place. As soon as the custom of erecting temples in honour of the gods came in vogue, its decoration by means of sculpture—both in relief and in the round—became a matter of course. In Greece and in other lands development of Sculpture as a hand-maiden of Architecture went hand-in-hand with the progress of the latter. Such temple-sculpture was primarily illustrative of the myths and legends of gods and heroes. In the temples of Egypt and Babylon the achievements of the kings of the land also found a prominent place in bas-reliefs. The custom of having separate sculptures in the round—statues, that is to say—originated from the practice of having images and cult-figures representing the deities which were set up within the temple-sanctum for worship. Such images came to be detached from temples and set up in some public place. Royal statues were set up in Egypt and Babylon, almost as a part of the national religion, since the king was considered as the representative of God on earth, and was looked upon as a super-human, even divine being. Statues and sculptures thus originated out of religion, their primary intention being

worship as well as temple-decoration. They were secularized through two things—by the representation of kings and other contemporary living personalities (although these were regarded as divine or semi-divine), and by setting up of such statues in the market-place and the way-side, away from the precincts of the temple, with the desire of impressing upon the mind of the people the dignity and the power of a monarch by permanently placing before them some imposing figure depicting him. Images and sculptures thus came to have other ends than that of serving some cult : they took up the new path of esthetic rather than religious satisfaction, although it was intended (consciously or unconsciously) to make sculpture subserve the aims of politics or dynastic glorification.

In classical Greece, and in republican and imperial Rome and the Roman empire, the setting up of statues of great public men and rulers became a very characteristic expression of Hellenic aud Roman culture. In early and archaic Greece we have the practice of erecting *herms* at street-corners and public places. These *herms* were oblong blocks of stone, narrow at the base and wide at the top, and surmounted by a bust of the Greek god Hermes, who presided over commerce and human fellowship. This gave a great impetus—in fact showed the way—to the adornment of a city by means of statues, with attendant decorative panels and other sculptures, in public places.

Contemporary celebrities and events of note came to be celebrated by means of statuary and sculpture in ancient Greece. The oldest statues of this kind are said to have been erected at Athens to immortalise the two young men Harmodios and Aristogeiton who had killed the Athenian tyrant Hipparkhos and were themselves slain in the performance of this political assassination during the last quarter of the 6th century B. C. Honouring their poets and statesmen and generals and philosophers by means of statues or

busts erected in public places became quite the rule in Greece, and Rome adopted this practice from the Greeks.

Sculpture and statuary as decoration of a town came to be adopted as a universal practice in the West through the example of the Greeks and of the peoples of Italy. In Europe, during the middle ages, people paid more attention to the cathedrals than to the markets and public places in the matter of sculptural decoration ; portrait-statues and effigies were mostly erected within the churches. But with the advent of the Renaissance in Europe, when Greek literature and Greek art was rediscovered by the peoples of Western Europe, sculpture and statuary received as much attention as in classical Greek and Roman times, and town-decoration by great sculpture as much as by great architecture becama a matter of course. The different countries of Europe began to vie with one another in this matter, and Italy and Germany, France and Spain, and England produced some great sculptors whose works adorning the various towns and galleries of Europe form the pride of modern European art, rivalling the creations of ancient Greek and Roman art.

The English, after they became established in India as masters of the land, in Bengal and elsewhere, introduced, along with other things of European culture, the practice of erecting statues of eminent persons as a most graceful form of town-decoration. English rule in India has not up till now been productive of any great art or architecture which can be compared with the art and architecture of Mogul India, for instance. The civil buildings of the East India Company period, though on a grand scale, with wide rooms and porticoes and Venetian blinds, have a character of their own, but as an Indian modification of South European architecture they have no pretension to be called great art. Experiments in the domain of architecture are no doubt being made, with a stray Victoria

Memorial in Calcutta, a High Court building in Madras or a Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay, which are partly or wholly inspired by the old traditions of India ; and the architecture of New Delhi is a bold attempt at inaugurating a new Anglo-Indian style, which, however, has not so far met with universal appreciation, inspite of its high qualities.

In India temple-building and architecture with the attendant craft of sculpture—image-making and decoration —formed quite a flourishing art among the pre-Aryan peoples, as the evidence from Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro and other pre-Aryan sites makes it clear. Among the Aryan invaders of India, worship through images does not seem to have been a characteristic form of religious expression, and, further, being a wandering and rather primitive people, architecture and sculpture could not develop among them. After the Aryans and non-Aryans intermingled in Vedic and post-Vedic times and formed the Hindu people, with the Aryan's language Sanskrit and its dialects as the vehicle of its culture, sculpture and image-making as an inheritance from the civilised non-Aryan ancestors of the Hindus came to receive proper attention. The formation of the Hindu people and culture was being completed during the second half of the 1st millennium B. C., and the oldest specimens of sculpture which can be specifically called Hindu go back to this period. Both from literary and plastic evidence we know that kings had their images made, and the early examples of the Buddha and Jina image have to be taken into consideration. In ancient Hindu India of the time of the Mauryas, and earlier, statuary and sculpture formed important items in the decoration of a city ; and in mediæval Hindu India (including Nepal), too, this practice was known, though sculptures and figures were chiefly kept in temples, which also became the sanctuaries of art. Even in Muhammadan times, we know that two stone statues of Jaimall and Putta, the Rajput horoes

who defended Chitor against Akbar, were placed on stone elephants at one of the gates of Delhi fort at the command of that magnanimous sovereign.

II

The statues which were set up in Calcutta at the instance of the ruling English naturally were of Britishers eminent in the history of the establishment of English power and prestige in the country. In the towns of Europe we find sculpture and statues treating great events and personalities in national history, ancient and modern, and there is plenty of imaginative sculpture symbolising the moral and other ideals of the nation as well as its actual life and culture. In the free countries of Asia like Japan and Siam, we find a similar thing—sculpture and statuary decorating the streets and public places celebrate national heroes and national history or ideals. Unfortunately we in India did not have the opportunity of thinking about these things during the current period of our history. If we had really appreciated and loved with our whole soul our national history and our national ideals, and if, in addition to that, we had control over our affairs entailing due access to our national funds, we might have decorated our cities with sculpture and statuary worthy of our great history and our great traditions. What a wonderful series of artistic creations in the way of sculpture could then have glorified our history and civilization in our towns! The *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, the stories of the *Purāṇas*, the story of Buddha, the history of Chandragupta, of Asoka, the epic history of the Imperial Guptas and still more stirring episodes of Rajput history, the history of the great Emperors and Kings of the South, heroic and romantic tales connected with Moslem India, the glory of Akbar and the great Moguls—all these would have been fiting subjects for a new and national school of sculpture in India

which would have arisen out of the modern demands for city-decoration. Our Indian towns could then have helped us in rousing a sense of national self-respect through really national monuments and memorials, and could also have won the affectionate regard of foreign visitors if the art were of a high order. But circumstances over which we do not have much control—leading to a general want of culture and education and to lack of a sense of propriety and good taste, as well as an ever-growing financial distress amongst us—have placed in the region of the might-have-been what could have been a most natural thing. We are now going to build at some cost a Deshabandhu Memorial in Calcutta. This Memorial could certainly be made a work of nationol art by having on it some sculptures depicting aspects of Bengali history and culture executed by Indian artists. The art of brass-founding is quite a living art still in our province of Bengal, and we could most easily perpetuate the memory of our great men by means bas-reliefs or statues in brass cast by Bengali metal-workers from designs by our great artists who could bring into their creations the characteristic expression of Indian art. As an example of what could be done in this line, I might mention the fine life-size image cast in brass of the late Charan Das Babaji, the work of a local Bengal master-founder, which has been set up within the memorial chamber of this Vaishnava devotee and teacher erected within the precincts of the Radharaman Kunja at Navadwip. I was surprised and filled with pleasure and pride that such a fine brass figure could be produced even now in our country : and assuredly such a brass figure as that of Charan Das Babaji would enhance the beauty of any park or square in Calcutta.

In France, Germany, Italy, England and other countries of Europe there are statues *ad infinitum* in public parks and squares depicting 'Liberty', 'Education', 'Victory',

'Truth', and other virtues ; these figures, and groups or single figures representing events of the country's history, constantly bring before the people the high ideals for which they should live, and at the same time gives them a pleasure by their esthetic appeal. We ought to have had similar statuary and sculptural groups, the work of our best artists, prominently displayed in our towns for the awakening and fostering of a proper pride in our ancestors and their achievements—and such statuary ought to have been erected at public cost. Episodes from our mythical and semi-historical stories with their great ideals—the story of Rama and Sita, of Behula and Lakhindar ; the achievements of the Pala and Sena kings ; Dipankara Srijnana Atisa's Journey to Tibet ; the life of Chaitanya ; sea-faring adventures of the Bengalis of centuries gone by—what a splendid array of sculptures our towns in Bengal could have shown ! Similarly, in other provinces of India, which are equally rich—and perhaps richer—in their traditions of achievement and power. Probably in the near future such things will be more common. At least a great equestrian statue in bronze, executed by an Indian sculptor, has been set up to commemorate Shivaji in his own Maharashtra ; let us hope that more like that will follow.

In the city of Bangkok, the capital of Thailand (Siam), when I was there in 1927, I saw in a corner of the vast square in front of the old palace of the earlier kings of the present dynasty a fountain kiosque shaped like a Siamese pagoda in which was enshrined a life-size statue of Nang Thoroni—the Earth-Goddess (our Dharani Devi),—kneeling and wringing out her long hair from which, according to the Buddhist legend, floods of water issued and swept away the army of Mara, the Buddhist Satan, who came to disturb and if possible to lead astray the meditating Buddha. The work is exquisitely done in tne Siamese style, and forms quite an adornment of the city.

The spirit of Siamese culture seems to have taken form in this beautiful Siamese Buddhist conception of Earth as a Mother-Goddess, the natural protectress of all that is good and great. In front of the National Museum, there is a bronze statue of Rama Chandra with his bow,—our Rama when the Siamese also have made their own. On the gate of the Government School of Arts and Crafts, there is a bronze figure of Visvakarma, the Creator of All, as the presiding deity of the plastic arts and patron of artists and craftsmen, seated with his wedge and plumb-line. And in the Phya Thai palace gardens (a royal palace which has been converted into a sumptuous hotel), there is a bronze figure of Varuna with his conch-shell, set up within an enclosed sheet of water. When I saw these and similar images in the gardens and temples of Siam, I was filled with shame at the thought that no modern Indian town could show any images or sculpture of a national cultural significance in its squares and gardens that could compare with these.

Only in one town in India I saw something which pleased me very much. It was in the temple-city of Chidambaram that I saw statues and groups like Saraswati and Rama with Sita and Lakshmana meeting Guhaka the aboriginal chief, adorning public squares and streets. They were in stucco, not in stone or bronze, but they formed an object lesson in this line for other bigger town.

III

The statues set up in Indian towns by the British and under British inspiration are mainly for the glorification of the British people and for beautifying the cities that have grown under their rule. And because this glory was achieved in India, the sense of propriety, which is inherent in a cultured race like the British, and the sense of beauty, which is a European heritage from the Greeks, prompted them to take into consideration the Indian surroundings

and the Indian atmosphere, in so far as it reacted npon them.

Some of the statues we see in the public places of Calcutta are really very fine from the point of view of art, and are the work of some of the greatest sculptors of England. Ordinarily we take no note of them ; and even if we glance at them, they do not evoke any sense of pleasure in most of us. This is due to a general want of culture—of love and appreciation of great art—in us.

The Outram Statue on Chowringhee at the junction of Park Street is looked upon as one of the finest equestrian statues erected during the last century. It excites real joy when we look at it. It was executed by the English sculptor John Henry Foley, and was set up in 1874. Foley lived from 1818 to 1874, and two other equestrian statues in Calcutta, those of Lord Canning and Lord Hardinge, were also executed by him. He made a good number of other statues which are in England.

Among the sculptural treasures given to Calcutta by the British, those executed by Sir Richard Westmacott hold a high place. Sir Richard was born in 1775 and died in 1856. He was a pupil of the great Italian sculptor Canova, who with the Dane Thorwaldsen helped to revive once again the pure classical style of European art in the early part of the 19th century. Westmacott followed his master in this. His work breathes the spirit—a little too formal and stiff although it is—of Greek art. He executed a great many statues and groups in the classical style illustrative of historical and other situations. Two pieces of work from his chisel adorn public places in Calcutta. One in marble is a group of three figures forming the Warren Hastings statue, now in the quadrangle facing the western colonnade of the Victoria Memorial. Hastings is depicted draped in a cloak like a Roman Senator, and flanking the base of his statue are two figures, one on either side—that on the right

being that of a Brahman with a *pothi* (Sanskrit ms.) book in hand, standing in a pose of austere dignity and beauty, apparently absorbed in thought ; and on the left side is the figure of a seated Muhammadan scholar reading a book—also a figure of great benignity and grace. These two figures depicting two types of Indian culture, Hindu and Muhammadan, have been conceived and executed with deep sympathy and insight, and have been carved with a masterly hand. One is reminded of a panel by another English sculptor and modeller Flaxman depicting a similar subject—that of a Brahman and a Sufi seated in amicable talk, the Brahman explaining something to the Sufi with great earnestness, and the Sufi appears to be deeply in thought, taking in all that the Brahman is giving him of the Vedantic lore and wisdom of India. This panel is in the library of the University College, London, along with similar other works of Flaxman.

Another work by Westmacott in the city of Calcutta is the bronze statue of Lord Bentinck, which is now within the compound of the Bengal Legislative Council building, facing the Town Hall. Among the achievements of the Bentinck regime was the legal abolition of the *Suttee*, and quite appropriately there is a large bronze panel, beautiful as a work of art, depicting the preparations for the cruel tragedy of the burning of a *Suttee*. The panel, covering as it does half of the round base of the statue, is curved in form and in the 1925 Anniversary Number of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* (25 November 1925) three views of it were reproduced. The scene depicted belongs to Northern India. The main figure, that of the unfortunate young widow, forms the centre of the panel. She is ready for the last act of the grim drama. On the high pyre above her head is the shrouded body of her dead spouse. A wild—even ecstatic—mood, unconscious of herself and of her surroundings, suffuses the tragic central figure. An

elderly person dressed like a Rajput stands to her left, tenderly holding her slight frame which might collapse under the strain at any moment ; his mien is one of profound grief and sympathy, and he seems to be trying to dissuade her gently from the act. In front of the widow is a lady, whose bare arms and plain *sari* would show that she herself is a widow who has not 'eaten fire' (or is she a maid-servant ?), and she is with the two children of the widow ; the younger child, a baby, wants to jump to its mother's bosom, but the mother's abstracted gaze hardly takes any notice of it ; the bigger child is taken with fright at all that is happening and at the calm and almost insane appearance of its mother, and is clutching at the knees of the lady, who may as well be an aunt. The mother apparently has ceased to have any maternal feeling or affection—for she is going the Way of Fire. The two children are modelled in the approved style of Renaissance Italy. To their right is a man armed with a sword who has his hand on the shoulder of a Brahman priest with a *pothi* in his hand, and he seems to be making a request or a prayer to the priest in a very anxiout manner. The Brahman's face is sad and thoughtful : it seems as if his mind cannot subscribe to the terrible rite, yet he thinks he must see it through as his duty. On the other side are two attendants piling straw and other infiammables on the top of the pyres—these have a sort of stolid unconcern not wholly free from sadness. The seven figures in the panel possess each its individuality and character. The fine modelling of the limbs and the stately gesturers are noticeable, together with a dignified self-restraint which characterises ancient Greek art of the best period. The sculptor has designed the panel with considerable sympathy for the subject, and there is not the least trace of contempt or arrogant flippancy for the Indian people, which, unfortunately, is too often noticeable in the pictures of Indian

life painted or sculpture modelled by some latter-day European artists. Such a piece of sculpture forms a worthy decoration for a public monument.

The statue of Lord Roberts by Red Road on the *Maidan* is another well-known art-work in Calcutta. Lord Roberts was for forty years in the Indian army, and retired as Commander-in-Chief, distinguishing himself in Afghan and frontier warfare. The huge equestrain statue is the work of Harry Bates, English sculptor (1850-1899), and was set up in 1898. The figure is a solid one cast from 14 guns captured in war. Lord Roberts is dressed in a *posteen* or Afghan sheep-skin coat which suggests his part in Afghan wars. Round the oblong base of the statue are marble reliefs depicting Indian and British troops, and at two ends are two more than life-size figures by the same artist. At the back is the figure of 'War', typified by an Afghan warrior seated on a piece of old-fashioned cannon, clad in a cloak of chain-mail and shod with Afghan sandals, holding a sheathed sword on his knees and a round shield slung on his arm. This grim warrior is a superb specimen of humanity and forms a fitting symbol of 'War' This figure is certainly a powerful creation, quite out of 'the way in European art, and it does one good to look at and admire scuh a beautifully and truly rendered artistic creation. The other figure, that of 'Victory', is a conventional creation of the usual classical type, showing the laurel-crowned goddess of Victory seated on the prow of a vessel and raising aloft the standerd of victory. This figure of a spirited and triumphant woman, strong and full of elation, is a fitting counterpart of the vigorous adult manhood standing for 'War' on the other side. These also are good specimens of decorative sculpture.

There are a few other specimens of suclpture in Calcutta which are quite noteworthy ; some of these may be described later.

November, 1925.

TANSEN AS A POET

Tān-sēn, or Tāna-sēna, whose name is a household word all over India as one of the greatest exponents of the *Dhrū-pad (Dhruva-pada)* or classical Hindu style of singing, was also a poet of rare power and felicity, judging from the songs he himself composed and set to the classical *Ragas*, and in this way left them for posterity. Classical Indian music, i.e. Indian music going back to pre-Muhammadan times, as is well-known, has been continued in two traditional schools—that of the North (which is known as the Hindustānī or Hindusthānī school), and that of the South (known as the Karṇāṭak or Carnatic school). Tānsen for North India, and Tyāga-rāya, the Telugu singer, devotee of Rāma for South India, (died about 1850), are the two greatest names in the history of classical Indian music during the last few centuries. The Southern school is believed to be more faithful to the old Hindu tradition, to be purer and less influenced by extraneous systems, while the Northern one is regarded as being less pure, having imbibed extra-Indian influences and developed in a different way from the other school. The Hindusthāni school has adopted a great many things from Muhammadan, *i.e.* Persian, Arab and Turkī (Central Asian) music no doubt : in this way it is richer, if less pure than the Karnatak school. But it has preserved a great many things intact, too—has undoubtedly preserved a considerable portion ef the old pre-Muhammadan music, at least as well as the Southern school ; and it is in the *Dhrūpad* style of singing, with the special accompaniment of the *pakhāwaj* drum, the three-stringed *tambūra* (or *tān-pūrā*), and the North Indian *vīṇā* or lute, that we see the finished Hindu music of a thousand years ago or more. The *Dhrūpad* tradition with its *Rāgas* and

Rāgiṇīs and its *Tālas* or time beats certainly harks back to indegeneous Hindu music of pre-Muhammadan times. Later developments, with a judicious commingling of elements from the music (chiefly of Persia and Central Asia) brought in by the Turkī conquerors of India, are believed to have given rise to the *Khyāl* style in the 13th century ; and folk elements from the Panjab and Oudh then ushered the *Tappā* style, and finally the *Thumrī* style in the 19th century. The process has been one of elaboration.

Nothing in Indian music approaches the stately simplicity, the nobility, the majesty and grandeur of the *Dhrūpad*. The succession of notes in a *Dhrūpad* song resembles the simple, severe, straight lines of a Dorian temple. Music naturally calls for comparison with architecture among the plastic arts, and the effect produced by *Dhrūpad* singing, with its proper accompaniment, irresistibly evokes this comparison. *Khyāl* would then be like a rather ornate temple in the Ionic order, and *Tappā* would suggest the Corinthian or Roman order, and *Thumrī* the Barsque *Dhrūpad* is music in the grand style—the veritable epic of music. *Dhrūpad* suggests great sculpture, simple and powerful, like those at Mahabalipuram or Elephanta ; while *Tappā* and *Thumrī* recall the infinitely complicated lines and arabesques and highly bejewelled figures of later Hindu sculpture. Great as the *Dhrūpad* of the present day is, basing itself on the tradition as finally closed by Tānsen and his peers in the 16th and 17th centuries, we can imagine that it was greater and statelier still a thousand years before, in the 5th-6th centuries A.D.

In the other departments of Indian Hindu culture, we have an age of preparation in the centuries preceding Christ ; the formation and flourishing of the classical culture, during the greater part of the first thousand years after Christ ; and finally, the decay, with the impact of the fury of the Turkish invasion ; and then a fresh reju-

venation under the Indianised and Indian Muhammadan dynasties.

In music also, probably a parallel line of dovelopment took place. Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhransa, and Bhasha or Modern Vernacular : these are the stages, roughly, in the development of the Aryan speech in India. In the *Dhrūpad*, we have the Bhasha, and probably also the Apabhransa stages : its earlier, Prakrit phases, and its oldest phase, comparable to Sanskrit, have perhaps been lost for ever. But *Dhrūpad* can give us some idea of what it was like. Our present day 'classical' tradition is thus, at the best, but medieval in point of time.

Be it as it may, we have to be grateful to masters like Gopāl Nāyak, Amīr Khusrau, Haridās Swāmī, Baijū Bāwarā, Tānsen, Sadārang, Shorī Miyān and others for what they did for Indian music. They were innovators, some of them, and bold innovators, too : for example Amīr Khusrau, the reputed initiator of the *Khyāl* style ; and Tānsen himself is said to have modified some old *Rāgas*, e.g. the *Rāga Malhār*, which as modified by him came to be known as the *Miyān-kī Malhār*, and the noble *Rāga* known as *Darbārī Kānāṛā* was his creation. But mainly they were conservators. Their chief anxiety was to preserve the 'classic' modes and melodies and styles, and this has been the instrument for the preservation, even in a fragmentary form, of our medieval and probably also of our ancient music.*

* It has been suggested by some that the *Dhrupad* tradition and the *Dhrupad* style are now dead—their cultivation may be compared to that of a classical language like Sanskrit or Greek. This is not really the case. It is a style of music which may not be the fashion now, but it is a living style and a living tradition none the less. New melodies are composed in the *Dhrupad* style in the same way they used to be in the days of Tansen. As an instance of how a new *Dhrupad* melody may be inspired in these later days, we may mention that a short while ago Sangita-ratnakara Surendranath Banerji (of the

Tānsen's ascociation with Akbar has been a fortunate circumstance to which we are thankful for some details about his life and for some stories regarding his genius and achievement. Contemporary art, too, has given us his portrait ; we have a few Mogul miniatures representing Tānsen, which presumbly were executed in the days of Jahāngīr. In one of these, his name is actually written beside his portrait : he is seen here, a slight figure of a man, rather dark, with a thin wisp ef a moustache, in company with Jahāngīr, the son and successor ef his illustrious patron. This picture may represent a meeting when Jahāngīr was a prince, and Jahāngīr himself in his autobiography has declared his admiration for Tānsen. In the second, he is playing on a lute in a company of court musicians in the courtyard of the imperial palace, while arrangements are being made for a state procession : this picture also refers to the times of Jahāngīr. These two pictures may be said to give the protrait of the man Tānsen as he really was. In the third one, which is more a subject composition than a strictly historical picture, he appears as a much younger man, but with the same slight dark figure, devoutly squatting on the ground and listening with deep respect, with the emperor Akbar standing beside him, to his master Haridās Swāmī playing on the *tambūra* and singing in his hermitage. The emperor in his jewels and with his halo has come to the saintly musician's hermitage on foot, leaving his pomp and power afar, suggest figures of squatting camels and tents seen in the picture from a

famous Visnupur family of singers and musicians) composed a fine new melody which he called *Raga Gandhi*, celeberating Mahatma Gandhi's fast as a protest against social injustices among Hindus. In fact, the *Dhrupad* could never have persisted to our day if it were merely repeating fixed and stereotyped *Ragas* only, if new creation had not been taking place. This is certainly a sign of life and growth, and not of death or stagnation. Then, we should not lose sight of the importance of the classics and classical languages even in modern life.

distance. This picture illustrates the beautiful story of Akbar going all the way to the hermitage of the saint at Brindāban to listen to his singing, as the saint would not come to his court. Akbar was taken there by Tānsen, and the latter by a ruse made the saint sing, and his singing affected Akbar so much that he fell into an ecstatic trance, and when he recovered he asked Tānsen why he (Tānsen) could not sing like Haridās Swāmī ; and Tānsen made the reply, that he sang for the pleasure of an earthly ruler, whereas his master Haridās Swāmī did it for that of the Lord of the Universe.

And yet, Tānsen's life and career remains a mystery. He is mentioned by Abu-l-Fazl, one of his fellow-courtiers, in his *Āyīn-i-Akbarī*, in which his name is given first in a list of the most skillful musicians of Akbar's court—36 in number ; and Abu-l-Fazl expresses the current enthusiasm for him in this line : 'a singer like him has not been in India for the last thousand years'. We have a short biographical note on Tānsen by Śiv Siṃh Seṅgar in his *Śiv-siṃh-Saroj*, an anthology from Hindī poets, with brief biographical notes, which was first published *Saṃvat* 1934 (=1877-78) ; and this has been reproduced by Grierson in his *Modern Vernacular Literature of Hindustan* (1889). Śiv Siṃh gives 1588 *Saṃvat* (=1531-1532) as the year of Tānsen's birth, but he does not quote any authority. Tānsen must have been born at least a decade earlier, as this date does not accord at all with the other events in his life. Tānsen died in April 1589 (A. H. 997), as we learn from contemporary court histories in Persian. Tānsen was the son of a Gauḍ Brāhman named Makarand Pāṇḍe. He first learned the art of versification and singing from the Vaiṣṇava saint Haridās Swāmī of Brindāban. Later he learned the art from Sūfī saint Shaikh Muhammad Ghaus of Gwalior. Muhammad Ghaus is said to have been a great musician, the greatest among Muhammadans, and he

lived in the days of Bābar, Humāyūn and Akbar, and was much venerated by the people. It was through a stratagem suggested by this holy Muslim saint that Bābar's general Rahīm-dād could capture the fort of Gwaliór from the Hindus. It is said that he touched Tānsen's tongue with his own, and in this way transmitted to Tānsen his own great skill in singing. Tānsen became a Muhammadan subsequent to his coming to the court of Akbar in 1562. We do not know what prompted him to declare this open allegiance to the faith of Islām. It was certainly not through hope of preferment at court, as his master Akbar was not a bigoted Muslim. At heart Tānsen remained always a Hindu, and a devout Hindu, judging from his songs. The few songs which he composed praising Muhammadan saints and the prophet lack the depth and the poetry of his songs of Hindu inspiration. Was it the personal influence of Muhammad Ghaus which made him accept the the Muhammadan name formally, without perhaps abjuring anything of his Hindu mentality ? Muhammad Ghaus became quite respected as a saint in his old age, and he was polite equally to Hindus and Muhammadans, which made him not a little unpopular with the ultra-orthodox Musalmāns. This might have made him popular with the Hindus : and the popularity of a Muhammadan saint—a *Pīr* or *Faqīr*—has frequently won converts to Islām. Or was it because Tānsen was outcasted, as he was hobnobbing too much with Muhammadans ? Śiv Siṃh notes that Tānsen became enamoured of Daulat Khān, a son of Sher Shāh, the Paṭhān emperor who ousted Humāyūn (he became a lover, *'āshiq*, of Daulat Khān, in the language of Śiv Siṃh). Daulat Khān was evidently a young patron, and Tānsen is said to have composed many poems in his honour. This little story gives an interesting side-light into Muhammadan ideas, manners and morals of those days as they were current among a certain section of the nobility.

Another reason why Tānsen became a Muhammadan may be sought in the possibility of an *en masse* conversion, perhaps forcible, of a large section of the group or clan to which Tānsen himself belonged. Gwalior had become an important centre of Hindu art—architecture and music specially—during the rule of Rājā Mān Siṃh Tomar (1486-1518), and Gwalior musicians had become famous as exponents of classical Hindu music. Abu-l-Fazl's list of the most famous singers and musicians of the court of Akbar gives us 36 names, Indian and foreign (Persian and Central Asian); and of these 36, no less than 15 are artists from Gwalior. And it is curious to note that most of these 15 Gwalior men are Muhammadans with Hindu names—same as in the case of Miyān (Mīrzā) Tānsen. We have Tān-taraṅg Khān a son of Tānsen : and others have names like Srīgyān Khān, Miyān Chand, Bichitr Khān (his brother Subhān Khān has a Muhammadan name), Bīr Maṇḍal Khān, Parbīn Khān, Chand Khān. The conversion of these exponents of ancient Hindu music would appear to be inexplicable, but cases of forcible group-conversion are not unknown in the history of Indian Islām. We can mention the case of the Malkhāna Rājpūts of the U. P. and Rajputana, and the Chitrakars of Bengal, two Hindu castes which have been unwilling subjects of Islām and are now coming back to the Hindu fold once again. A forcible conversion of the Brāhman singers who in and about Gwalior carried on the ancint art, some time during the early 16th century, when Gwalior was a bone of contention among the Rājpūts and the Paṭhān and Mogul and other Muhammadan powers, might have been responsible for what would appear to be the nominal affiliation to Islām of Tānsen and his *birādarī* or caste-group of Gauḍ Brāhman musicians. Social sympathy is often responsible for smaller groups to accept the fate of a larger one. Yet another reason for Tānsen's conversion may have been Love, and this is hinted

at by an apocryphal story, impossible in its absurdity, that Akbar married one of his daughters to Tānsen before the latter could be persuaded to sing before him. *Cherchez la femme* : the charms of a lady of some Muhammadan family may have drawn Tānsen away. So that one or more of these four factors must have operated—personal influence of Muhammad Ghaus, his *ustād* or master in singing ; close contact with the Muhammadan bloods of the time, which might have brought about social obloquy and perhaps ostracism from his more strict Brāhman caste-fellows ; forcible *en masse* conversion of his clan ; and finally, his love for some Musalmānī girl. Be it as it may, the influence of Muhammad Ghaus appears to have been one of the factors in his career. After his death he was interred, it may be by his own express desire, beside the fine mausoleum over the grave of Muhammad Ghaus, at the foot of the rock *massif* of the fort of Gwalior. This tomb of Tānsen is quite a place of pilgrimage for the singers of Hindūstān, who fondly chew the acid leaves of the tamarind tree close to his tomb, with the idea that owing to the proximity of the tree to the grave of the master-singer its leaves will impart a sweetness to the voice.

After the death of his master Daulat Khān, Tānsen found a fresh patron in Rājā Rām Chand Siṃh Baghelā of Bāndhaw in Rīwān (Rewa) state in Central India, and his largesses to the singer were extravagantly generous. Meanwhile Tānsen's fame had spread on all sides ; and Ibrāhīm Khān Sūr, a successor of Sher Shāh, is said to have tried to induce Tānsen to come to the Agra court, but in vain. Akbar, well-established as a strong ruler, had heard about him and wanted to have him in his court. In 1562 Akbar sent one of his noblemen Jalāluddīn Qurchī to Rīwān to bring Tānsen to Agra. The rest of Tānsen's career would appear to have been uneventful, excepting his conversion to Islām, which, however, could not have exerted

any great influence on his artistic or spiritual life. It would seem he lived a life of quiet dedication to his art—composing his songs, and singing before his master in private audience or in court functions, and obtaining the universal homage that is the true artist's due. Probably he also trained his relations and pupils : his sons followed in his footsteps, and his descendants still live, in the state of Rāmpur and elsewhere, carrying on the musical tradition associated with the name of their great ancestor. We hear about his disciples also, as having been eminent musicians and singers.

Great as Tānsen was in singing, he was a great poet as well. He lived in what may be called the Golden Age of Hindi Poetry ; and among his contemporaries were some of the greatest poets of Hindi, two of whom, Tulasī-dās and Sūr-ḍās (an elder contemporary) are in the forefront of Indian literature. Akbar's court was a centre of Hindi poetry, as it was of Persian, Sanskrit and other learning ; and the great emperor himself is credited with having composed verses in Hindi (Braj-bhākhā) in which he signs his names as *Akabbara* or *Akabbara Sāhi*. Among his courtiers persons were not lacking who were distinguished names in Hindi poetry, like Mīrzā ʿAbdu-r-Rahīm Khān-Khānān, Rājā Bīrbal, and Pīthala or Prithwīrāj Rāṭhoṛ of Bīkāner (the Rājpūt prince who composed, not in Hindī or Braj but in his own Rājasthānī dialect of Marwar known as 'Diṅgal').

There is a verse ascribed to Akbar himself which celebrates the death of Tānsen and some of the courtiers of the great emperor :

Pithala so*n* majalisa gai, Tanasena so*n* raga :
ha*n*sibau, bolibau, ramibau, gayau Birabala satha.

The assembly has departed with Pīthala, and music with Tānasen :

and with Birbal are gone smiles and conversation and pleasure.

It seems Tānsen's fame as a singer has cast into shade his greatness as a poet. One reason for this was that Tānsen was not a professed poet—did not compose any long narrative poem, nor stanzas and distichs meant to be chanted as poetry. But he was a lyrist in the truest sense of the term, as his poems were songs which he sang himself ; and it was their music which had the first appeal, rather than their poetry, which had only a secondary importance. Tānsen had as his peers similar poet-musicians in the court of Akbar—notably Bābā Rām-dās and his son Sūr-dās (who has been confused with the great Hindi poet of that name, the other Sūr-dās, the blind poet of Brindāban, who sang of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and flourished considerably earlier).

Not being in the first instance considered as a poet, Tānsen's compositions did not attract the attention they deserved from the North Indian public. The critics and copyists were occupied with Sūr-dās and Bihārī-lāl, Tulasī-dās and Bhūṣaṇ, and the rest. Outside of the select circle of the singers practising classical music, which was quite a jealous caste, and which preserved what it could of the master's composition, ordinary people honoured his name as a great singer, but otherwise cared little for him. To my knowledge, no special anthology of Tānsen's songs has been made, although all books of North Indian music will be sure to include some of them. Fortunately, Tānsen follow-ed the practice of the Hindi (and other North Indian, and Persian) poets of the age in 'signing' their poems, by giving his name in the last line. This would give us the cue in identifying his compositions. It is likely that a good many poems that were really not his have come to be associated with his name : and some of his own composi-tions similarly came to be associated with other poet-singers. A critical edition of Tānsen's songs is a *desidera-tum* in Hindi literature : the songs considered as

literature, and not as vehicles of classical music. There is quite a goodly mass of material to work upon. The *Saṅgita-Rāga-Kalpa-druma* of Kṛṣṇānanda Vyāsa-deva (first published, Calcutta, 1843 : second edition, Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parishad, Calcutta, three vols., 1914-1916) gives a goodly number with the signature of Tānsen. This can be supplemented by what is available from other music anthologies, in Hindi and in the other North Indian languages. A good few can be had from treatises in the Bengali language on Indian music. One may mention for instance, the works of Saṅgīta-nāyaka Gopeśwar Banerji, perhaps the ablest exponent of the *Dhrūpad* tradition as preserved in Bengal. Another such collection is a little work (quite useful, inspite of the mutilation of the Hindi words in every line) named *Dhrupad-Bhajanāvalī* or 'Anthology of Dhrupad Devotional Poems' in Bengali characters compiled by Babu Rāmlāl Maitra of Rangpur in Northern Bengal, giving some 371 *Dhrūpad* songs, of which over 180 have the signature of Tānsen.

Tānsen, like most poets of the Western Hindi area, composed in the Braj-bhākhā dialect, which, spoken in and about Mathurā and Brindāban in its purest form, is one of the most highly cultivated Aryan speeches of India, and a perfect vehicle for lyric poetry. Standard Literary Hindi of the present day, and Urdū which has been aptly described as 'Musalmānī Hindī', had not as yet evolved out of the conflict of dialects that was going on then. As a medieval Indian language, it is rich in vowels, and words in it always end in vowels. This fits it with a special suitability for songs, especially of an elevated tone. One tradition in pronunciation which characterises this dialect when used in lyrics or songs—current at the present day at least among certain schools—is to turn a short *a* before a group of a nasal plus stop (simple or aspirated) into the diphthong *au* (now-a-days pronounced something like the *aw* er *au* in English *law* or *Paul*), in which the following nasal element is

long drawn out in the tune : e.g. *paṅkaja, saṅkha, gaṅga, pañca, añjana, maṇḍala, anta, canda, sugandha, ambha,* are pronounced as *pauṅkaja, sauṅkha, gauṅga, pauñca, auñjana, mauṇḍala, aunta, caunda, sugaundha, aumbha.*

One great point with his poems (as with similar lyrics by other Hindi poets of his time) is the terseness of language. Grammar is reduced to a minimum—post-positions and other help-words are admitted only when absolutely necessary : even inflexions are clipped—the mere base of the noun or the verb doing duty for the inflected form. The sentence resolves itself into a succession of whole words—solid words and compounds—which in their isolated position become imbued with a sort of grandeur and intensity otherwise unattainable. We have frequently in the lines of Tānsen a succession of pictures evoked by the mere word—the topic being familiar to his audience.

The poems fit in which the exigencies of *Dhrūpad* singing, and consequently corresponding to the four parts of the *Dhrūpad—Asthāyī, Antarā, Sancārī* and *Ābhog,* there are these four parts. The metres are usually those of four long lines, *Caupaiyā, Sawāyā, Tribhaṅgī, Padmāwatī, Līlāwatī, Hiṇḍola, Duramilā,* and *Madanaharā* ; and frequently we have prose.

This is the formal range of Tansen's poetry—his muse must be confined within the limited extent of a four-lined stanza. This was a self-imposed handicap. In the range of his subjects, he allowed himself but slightly greater variety. Herein the convention that allowed only particular subjects as suitable for the *Dhrūpad* jealously prevented him from essaying many other sentiments. *Dhrūpad* music as being of an exalted kind could only have exalted subjects : praise of the Supreme Being, or of the various aspects of the Deity—the various Gods and Goddesses of the Hindu pantheon ; descriptions of the Gods, their greatness and majesty, and their 'sports' or doings

(*līlā*) ; descriptions of Nature, specially of the Seasons ; celebration of Music ; Love, specially that of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa ; praise of Kings and Rulers ; and under Muhammadan inspiration, praise of Allāh, of the prophet Muhammad, and of Muhammadan Saints, living and dead, Indian and foreign. The vocabulary of the *Dhrūpad* songs was that of Old Braj-bhākhā poetry ; that is, Old Hindi and Sanskrit words by preference, as Persian and Arab vocables had not yet made much impression on the Indian languages ; but in the songs of Muhammadan inspiration, Persian and Arabic words and phrases occasionally have full play.

This was the limited range of subjects for the *Dhrūpad* lyrics. The form was even more limited. The poet's choice of words also had to take cognisance of the melody : but this was an advantage as much as a disadvantage, for it ensured an indissoluble welding together of his sentiments and his music. On the whole, there were thus some serious handicaps. Yet within this narrow scope, Tānsen shows his genius remarkably well. The stateliness of the form and its balanced architectural quality, to start with, elevates his compositions ; and this elevation is further sustained by the nobility of his diction and the aptness of the words he selects. The very terms and epithets with which, for instance, the Gods in their majesty are described, evoke pictures which have a stamp of primeval grandeur about them. Thus, for instance, in some of the hymns to the Supreme (*Para-brahma*), and to Śiva and Vishṇu. The brightness of the spring, with the birds singing and the south breeze blowing ; the rainy season, with its gusts of the easterly wind, its dark tropical clouds, the lightning's flash and the cloud's rumble , and the incessant patter of rain heard on the terrace, on leaves of trees and on sheets of water ; the tenderness and the idyllic love of the divine lovers Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, typifying the quest of the soul for God, and its final union with the Godhead : all

these, and a score of other things—the sublimest and the sweetest in Indian poetry—find a jewelled setting as it were in these *Dhrūpad* poems. We have in them the concentration of classical and medieval Hindu poetry and devotion. These *Dhrūpad* poems, with the analogous *Rāga-mālā* poems (explaining the Rājpūt and Mogul miniatures on the subject), are among the choicest flowers in the garden of Indian poetry. Tānsen is thus in the direct line of the ancient and medieval poets of India, from the Rigvedic period downwards.

He is a court singer and a court poet, being in attendance upon one of the greatest rulers of men that history knows. Yet his themes are the property of the common people of India—they relate to things which the humble tiller of the soil understands and loves, as much as the scholar and the aristocrat, the soldier and the tradesman : *āvir akṛta priyāṇi* : he has revealed the things we love. His poetry is a product of the race-mind—it is national, and popular, in the truest sense of the terms.

In the mass of the poems, it is not possible to trace any chronological arrangement or development. It has been suggested (in the introduction to Mr. Rāmlāl Maitra's anthology of *Dhrūpad* songs mentioned above) that Tānsen's life as a poet falls in three periods—that of his young age, his manhood, and his old age. In the songs of the first period he celebrated his princely patrons, and treated of Nature and the Seasons : these are gay and light in temperament. In his second period, he treated of the Gods and their glory : but in these one does not get any depth of feeling ; and in the third period, Tānsen composed poems on the love of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa, and these poems showing his *bhakti* are the most profound in spirit, and these carry away the listener in a stream of passionate faith in God. In their poetry, too, these last are said to be supreme. Now, from a study of the songs themselves, it would

appear that this classification into periods is arbitrary, and the grouping of the songs with reference to the profundity of sentiment is largely subjective.

But there is no denying the fact that some of Tānsen's poems of praise and prayer are as sincere and as profound as those of the greatest saints of India. Tānsen's lyrics, the purely religious ones as well as those which may be described as 'secular' (*e.g.* descriptions of Nature), in their very simple manner certainly do reveal a mystic and a man of deep piety. He is a true Brāhman in his poems, and one of the best cultured, too, in the lore and the thought of India. He is keenly alive to the grandeur and the profundity underlying the conception of Śiva and Vishṇu, of Sūrya and Gaṇeśa, of Devī and Sarasvatī. He also reveals himself as a pantheist of the noblest type in some of his poems. He is a true inheritor of all the wisdom and the beauty which Hindu culture produced, from the *Vedas* to the *Upanishads*, and the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*, down to tho *Tantras* and the *Bhakti-mārga* Saints of Medieval India. And his songs have been known to induce the ecstatic condition of prayer in the listener. Some of his prayers ring quite sincere in their note of despair as a man and a sinner—the *Eli Eli lama sabachthani* cry is here, softened by an overpowering sense of God's mercy and His ever being with us.

The *Dhrūpad* poems are fittest to be sung before an image of the Deity in a temple, or in a select company in a drawing-room, or up on a terrace in the moon-lit night, or in some quiet hermitage or grove by a great water or river under the star-lit sky of a dark night. In the *Kādambarī* of Bāṇa-bhaṭṭa, the Sanskrit writer of the 7th century A.D., we have the exquisite picture of Mahāśvetā, the young princess, mourning for her absent lover, and singing to the accompaniment of a *vīṇā* in front of the image of Śiva in a temple within the forest, by the Acchoda lake : and the song

in praise of Śiva that she sang was certainly the classic Gupta counterpart of our familiar 16th century *Dhrūpad*. And the forlorn wife of the Yaksha in the *Megha-dūta* of Kālidāsa, trying to while away the pangs of separation by playing on her *vīṇā* and singing : what else would she sing, except songs of separation—*viraha*—in some grand old *Rāga*, and in the *Dhrūpad* style ? Certainly, the music that Nature makes in praise of God—the music of an elevated and ecstatic type in which Śiva is praised in the mountain-glades of the Himālayas, when the wind pipes through the slender hollow bamboo, and the celestial nymphs—*Kinnarīs*—are singing in unison, and the thunder of the clouds echoing from the caves of the mountains form the deep drum-beat—that music finds its expression through the *Dhrūpad*. Similarly, the eternal quest of Rādhā and Kṛishṇa for each other has its perfect musical expression in the words and the *Rāgas* and *Tālas* of the songs of the *Gīta-gōvinda*. I have attended the most impressive religious services of the Roman Catholic Church, and those of Hinduism. Temple chanting of various sorts I recall,—*e.g.* in great Vishṇu and Śiva temples of the Tamil-land in South India, in the Puri temple, at Benares, and elsewhere ; I have been impressed by the greatness of the religious chanting everywhere. But I recall with special pleasure the early morning service I witnessed in the Śiva shrine of *Ekliṅgjī* (*Ekaliṅga-nātha*) near Udaipur, where during the intervals that the shrine-door was closed, when the Sanskrit *mantras* would not be heard for a while, an old singer with a *sāraṅgī* lute and an attendant with a *pakhāwaj* drum struck up a *Dhrūpad* song of praise, the effect of which amid the impressive silence and in the carved porch-hall of the temple could be well imagined. We have a good many Rājpūt and Mogul miniatures from the 16th century onwards giving us the ideal setting for a discourse of music in the *Dhrūpad* style : a princess, alone

or accompanied by a maid, singing and playing on the *vīṇā* before a Śiva image, in a forest glade in the depth of the night, or in the glory of an early autumn morning ; musicians and *Yogīs* discoursing music in a river-side hermitage, the picture itself a nocturne of wonderful power ; a maiden looking wistfully at a cloudy sky ; and princes and young bloods playing and singing upon a terrace at night. The scenes in the *Rāga-mālā* pictures are 'visualised music', the music of the *Dhrūpad*. In fact, in the *Dhrūpad* songs, and in the Rājpūt and Mogul *Rāga* pictures (in the Rājput miniatures especially), we have a remarkable co-operation or parallelism of music and art.

I shall close by giving a few poems of Tānsen (some ten), in Romanised original and in translation, the texts being slightly emended and corrected from the very corrupt traditional or printed versions. These would give a fair idea of Tānsen's achievement as a poet. The songs addressed to the Dawn Goddess remind one of *Rigveda* poetry.

[1] Rāga, Lalita-Bhairawa. Tāla, Cautāla.

hema-kirīṭinī Ukhā dewī kanaka-baranī sawitā-gehinī udata madhura hā*n*sa jaga ha*n*sāyau.

sindhu-bāri udata Bhānu, bimala soha jaise mānau*n* disā-nāyarī kanaka gāgarī pānī bhari bhari maṅgala-asnāna karāyau.

bihaga madhura lalita tāna gāwai, bhuwana nawa jīwana, āna*n*da-magana saba jaga-jana maṅgala-gīta gāyau.

āyī Ukhā, kawa*n*la-netrī, gāyatrī, jaga-dhātrī ; le ke aruna-kirana-mañjana Tānasena-mānasa-tāmasa dūra liyau.

(*A Hymn to the Dawn Goddess*)

Golden-crowned Ushas, Goddess of Dawn, golden-hued, Spouse of the Sun, she is rising, and has made the world smile with her sweet smile.

The Sun is rising from the waters of the Sea : the pure beauty (of the scene)—as if the Nymphs of the quarters of

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The Sun is rising from the waters of the Sea : the pure beauty (of the scene)—as if the Nymphs of the quarters of

the sky have bathed him in an auspicious bath, filling and refilling with water golden jars.

The birds are singing in sweet and soft notes : there is new life on earth, and all men on earth deep in bliss sing a song of joy.

Ushās has come, the lotus-eyed, the Songstress (gāyatrī), the Sustainer of the Universe : taking the rays of the Young Sun as a collyrium, she has removed afar the darkness that is in the mind of Tānasena.

[2] Rāga, Bhairawa. Tāla, Dhīmā Titālā.

Mahādewa Mahākala Dhurajaṭī Sūlī Pañca-badana Prasanna-netra.

Parameswara Parātpara Mahā-jogī Maheswara Parama-purukha Prema-maya Para-sānti-dātā.

saritā-gana bhinna bhinna pantha jaise āwata, sindhuwā pāi rahata magana,

Tānasena kahai—taise bhagata bhinna mūrati upāsata eka hī Bramha āwata.

(*A Hyma to Śiva*)

Great God, Great Time, Bearer of matted locks on Thy head, Trident-holder, Five-faced, with eyes that are gracious :

Supreme Lord, Supreme of the Supreme, Great Yogī, Great Lord, Supreme Person, Soul of Love, Giver of Supreme Peace.

As streams come along different ways and become merged on reaching the Ocean,

Tānasena says, so devotees worshipping different images (manifestations) come to the One Brahma.

[3] Rāgiṇī, Lalitā. Tāla, Cautāla.

gagana-maṇḍala-madhya Udayācala-para aṣṭa-bājī kanaka-ratha-men Aruna-sārathi hota, priyā Ukhā sawen aruna-barana raṅgī basana pahiri Bhānu udata.

gaganāṅgana andhāra-dhūriyā kirana-mañjana dūra liyā, hullāsa Prakriti hansata amiyā, bicitra bhūkhana mohana sājata.

kānana-kuntala nīhāra-bū*n*dana jaṛita mukutā-māla mānon, sindhu nicola, acala mekhalā, nitamba dharanī bisāla.

bālārka sindūra-bū*n*da bhāla, graha-uṛa-sapta-rikhi-maṇḍala sohata : Prakriti-soha nihāri Tānasena prāna matāwata.

(*Morning*)

In the vault of the sky, upon the mountain of Sunrise. the Sun rises in his eight-horsed chariot of gold, with Aruṇa as his charioteer, accompanied by his beloved Ushas, putting on a coloured garment of rosy hue.

Darkness has been removed like dust from the court-yard of the sky through sweeping with his rays ; in joy Nature smiles ambrosia, and dresses herself charmingly with wonderful adornments.

The Woods, like (Nature's) tresses, seem to be done up with the dew-drops as with strings of pearls : the Sea is the (blue) breast-cloth, the Mountain chains the zone-ornament, and the wide Earth is the broad hip (of Nature).

She has the young Sun as a red vermilion patch on her fore-head : the Planets and the Stars, the group of the Seven Sages (the Seven Stars of the Great Bear), appear beautiful ; seeing all this beauty of Nature, Tānasena's soul is intoxicated.

[4] Rāgiṇī, Bhairawī. Tāla, Cautāla.

anta-kala kripā karo hiyā-para ṭhāṛau, Hari Kawa*n*la-naina, Kawa*n*lā-pati muralī-adhara ,lalita-madhura baṅkima bha-i Baṅka-bihārī.

badana khīna, indriya hīna, pāpa suwa*n*ri asthira prāna, nirāsā prabara, biswa a*n*dhāra, geha choṛi prāna jāta Hari.

bikhaya āpada sukha sampada dhana-jana-dārā--bāndhawa-suta saba-ko choṛi calihau*n* ; eka karama aba sangi rahiyau.

Patita-pāwana Prabhu Janārdana, patita dīna Tānasena; Biswa-mohana, pāra-gāmī prāna āsraya dīje, Goloka-bihārī.

(A Prayer to Kṛṣṇa the Saviour)

Give me Thy grace when my end comes, taking Thy stand in my heart, O Hari, Lotus-eyed, Lord of Kamalā (Śrī), with thy flute at Thy lips, and in Thy side-way pose so sweet and beautiful, O Lord of Sport that standest awrily.

My frame (face) is weak, miserable my senses : my soul is restless, remembering my sins ; despair is strong, the Universe is dark for me ; O Hari, my life is passing away, leaving its abode.

My estates, my pleasures and possessions are a tribulation to me : I shall depart alone, leaving behind all my riches and men and wife and relations and sons : my actions alone remain with me.

Saviour of the fallen, Master, Slayer of the demon Jana. Tānasena has sinned and is miserable : O Charmer of the Universe, my life is passing on to the other shore ; vouchsafe it refuge, O Dweller in the Paradise of Goloka !

[5] Rāgiṇī, Darbārī Toṛī. Tāla, Cautāla,

prāna merau hī rota hai biraha Prāna-ballaha nisi-dina, he Hari saranāgata dīna-ko darasana kāhe na mila.

ḍhuṇṛi hirda na pāwe nidhi, yā bidhi terī bidhi!: Hirda-nātha Dīna-nātha, kauna gati kīna mere aparādha-ke phala.

sūna prāna, sūna mana, sūna hirda-āsana ; andhāra bhayau biswa-saṃsāra, he Nātha.

Tānasena binati karata, āi hirda Jagannātha maru-bhūma prema-bāri barakhi prāna kīje sītala.

(A Prayer to Viṣṇu)

My soul weeps for separation day and night, O Lord of my soul : O Hari, why is not a sight of Thee vouchsafed to this miserable one, seeking refuge in Thee ?

The jewel is sought for, but not found in the heart : this ordination is Thy ordination. Lord of my heart, Lord of the miserable, as the fruit of my sins what way hast Thou ordained for me ?

Void is my soul, void my mind, and empty the seat of my heart : the entire Universe is dark for me, O Lord.

Tānasena maketh prayer : O Lord of the World, do Thou make my restless soul cool, coming to my heart and raining upon the desert land the waters of love.

[6] Rāgiṇī, Alaiyā. Tāla, Cautāla.

Jagata-jīwana hau Prabhu, bhagata-bacchala Tūn hī Bhagawāna.

Bhagata-hiya-paṅkaja-rāja, Acala-rāja, Rājarājeswara, Agana-bhuwana-pālaka.

Tūn hī mātā, Tūn hī pāta, Tūn hī dhātā bāndhawa, Tūn hī priya prānārāma, Tūn hī parā sānti, sukha gati, moccha-bhakti-dātā Bramha Tāraka.

Nanda-nandana, Hirda-rañjana, Bhaya-bhañjana, Ripu-gañjana, Nārāyana, Purukhā-ratana, Ananta, Anādi, Biswa-nātha.

Prāna-ballaha, Bahu-ballaha, Tānasena-kau eka Ballaha: māyā-moha-mugadha cīta saṃsāra-tāpa tapata: sānti-dātā, dīje sānti dīna-kau.

(*A Prayer to Kṛṣṇa*)

Lord, Thou art the Life of the World, Thou art full of grace to Thy servants, Thou art God :

King of the lotus of the heart of Thy devotees, King unmoved, Lord of Kings, Protector of unnumbered Worlds.

Thou art the Mother, Thou art the Protector, Thou art the Creator, Friend and Beloved Thou, Thou art the Repose of the Soul, Supreme Peace, Blissful Existence, Giver of Salvation, of Faith supreme, O Brahman the Saviour.

Thou the Son of Nanda, the Charmer of Heart, the Destroyer of Fear, the Suppressor of the Enemy, Son of Man, Gem of Men, Unending, Beginningless, Lord of the World.

Thou art the Lord and Lover of my soul ; Lord and Lover of Many, Thou art the One Lord and Lover of Tānasena ; my mind is bewildered by illusion and by

ignorance, and is suffering from the torments of life: Bestower of Peace, grant Thou peace to this wretched one.

[7] Rāgiṇi, Hiṇḍola. Tāla, Cautāla.

sundara sarasa ritu-rāja Basanta āwata bhāwana, kuñja kuñja phūli phūli bhawa*n*ra guñja, koyila pañcama gāna matāwe nara-nārī.

kānana kānana phūṭata camelī, bakula gandha-rāja belī, motiyā gulāba sugandha manohārī.

Pawana calata manda, bichuṛi gandha cahū*n* disa: guñjana jhanana nāda pañcama pūrata sabahu bana-bhuwa.

Rati-pati bhaja juwaka-juwati, nācata gāwata hiṇḍola māti, Gowinda-maṅgala Tānasena gāyau rī.

(*The Advent of Spring*)

Spring is come—the King of Seasons, the beautiful, the joyful, the pleasing: in all bowers and gardens the bee hums on each flower, and the cuckoo calls out its notes in the Panchama *key and makes all men and women intoxicated with joy.*

Flowers bloom in the woods fragrant and heart-ravishing—chameli, bakul, gandha-rāj, belā, motiyā *and the rose.*

The breeze blows soft, spreading the perfume on all sides: the hum of bees, all joyful noises, the notes of the cuckoo—these fill all the woodlands.

Young men and young women worship the God of Love, and they dance and sing, abandoning themselves to the swing-festival: and Tānasena has sung of the praises of Govinda (of the sports of Krishna in Brindāban).

[8] Rāga, Malhāra. Tāla, Cautāla.

Bādara āyau rī lāla Piyā bina lāgai ḍara pāwana.

eka to a*n*dherī kārī, bijurī cawa*n*kata, umaḍa ghumaḍa barakhāwana.

jaba-te*n* Piyā para-desa-gawa*n*na kīnau, taba-te*n* biraha bhayau mo tana-tāwana.

Sāwana āyau, ata jhara lāwata : Tānasena-prabhu na āyai mana-bhāwana.

(*Separation in the Rains*)

Ah, the Rain-clouds have come, but without my darling Beloved I feel so frightened, O.

It is black darkness ; the lightning flashes, and the rain comes in torrents with the rolling clouds overcasting.

From the time that my Love departed for a far land, his separation has become like a consuming heat for my body.

(The month of) Śrāvaṇa is come, it has brought here the drip of the rains : but Tānasena's Lord, He that pleases the heart, has not come.

[9] Rāgiṇi, Bihāga. Tala, Cautala.

Sāīn, Tūn na āwai āja, ādhī rāta (āndhī rāta), mājha mājha siṃhani jagāwai siṃha kānana pukāra.

candana ghasata ghasata ghasa gaye nakha mere, bāsanā na pūrata maga-ko nihāra.

dhika janama mere, jaga-men jīwana mere bimukha lagāwai Nātha pakari benu bāra bāra.

haun jana dīna ati, nayanahu bāri bahai, Tānasena antara dhurupada pukāra.

(*Separation : a Prayer*)

My Lord, Thou dost not come to-night : it is mid-night (or *dark is the night*), *and at times the lion makes the lioness awake by his roar in the forest.*

My finger-nails have become rubbed off, rubbing over and over again the sandal-wood (making a perfume paste for Thy coming) ; my desire is not fulfilled, looking and looking for Thee in the road.

Fie, O fie upon my birth : my Lord has made my life on earth come to naught by seizing (and playing on) His flute again and again.

I am a most miserable person, tears flow from my eyes : this Dhrūpad utters forth the heart's message of Tānasena.

[10] Rāga, Bilāwali. Tāla, Cautāla.

tana-ki tāpa taba hi miṭaigī merī, jaba Pyāre-kau driṣṭi-bhara dekhaungī.

jaba darasa pāūn Prāṇa-prītama-kau, janama jitawa suphala apanau likhāūngī.

aṣṭa-jāma mohi-kau dhyāna rahata wā-kau, ālī-kau le bheṭaungī.

Tānasena Prabhu koū āna milāwai, tā-ke pā ana sīsa ṭekāūngī.

(*Yearning*)

The fever of my body will cool only when I shall gaze on my Beloved, to the satiety of my eyes.

I shall describe my life and my sojourn as having borne good fruit when I shall have a sight af Him who is the most Beloved of my heart.

All the eight quarters of the day and night there is in me the thought of Him : taking my girl-friends with me, I shall go to meet Him.

Tānasena (says) : should anyone bring my Lord (to me) and make me meet Him, I shall touch his feet with my head.

[Note.—In the above transcriptions, it is to be noted that an Italic *n* nasalises the preceding vowel ; *s'* is pronounced like dental *s*, *ṇ* and *ṃ* (*anusvara*) like ordinary dental *n* ; and *ṣ* when intervocal has been written *kh*, following the Old Hindi pronunciation. The letter *c*, it is to be noted, has always the value of the English *ch*, and never of *k*. The letter *ṛ* is the so-called cerebral *r* (= *ḍ* between vowels).]

December, 1932.

OUR ELDER BROTHERS—THE KOLS

THE STUDY OF KOL

The languages of India belong to four great linguistic families—Indo-Aryan or Aryan, Dravidian, Austric (Kol and Mon-Khmer), and Tibeto-Chinese. It is not necessary to discuss the Aryan and the Dravidian languages. Since the dawn of history, these have been the speeches of civilisation in India, and as such have been studied from very ancient times—the oldest extant literary remains of Aryan, the Vedic hymns, going back to c. 1000 B.C. at the latest, and those of Dravidian, the oldest Tamil compositions, dating from the early centuries after Christ. The Aryan speech is accepted almost on all hands as having been introduced into India from beyond the north-western frontier. About Dravidian, opinion is divided, but most scholars regard it also as being originally extra-Indian, having been brought to India in pre-historic times, before the advent of the Aryans. The Tibeto-Chinese languages, which are spoken in the north and north-east of India, fall into two branches, Tibeto-Burman (inciuding Tibetan and dialects, the various sub-Himalayan speeches, the dialects of the Bodo group in North-eastern and Eastern Bengal, the various groups of languages current in Assam and Burma, and Burmese), and Siamese-Chinese (of which branch one language, Ahom, was introduce into India in 1228 when the Tai or Shan people from North-eastern Burma conquered Assam, and this speech is now almost entirely extinct). The original home-land of Tibeto-Chinese seems to have been in Western China, and Tibeto-Chinese speakers came to India through the eastern and north-eastern frontiers in very late times, compared with the speakers of Dravidian

and Aryan,—at a period not many centuries anterior to Christ. There remain the languages of the Austric family, namely, the Kol languages (like Santali, Muṇḍārī, Kurku, Gadaba, Savara or Sora and Juang), and Khasi : these, now spoken by less than 3·5 millions (Kol about 3·2 millions, and Khasi, nearly ·18 millions), alone have a right to be regarded as representatives of the oldest language-family of India.

* * * *

The Kol people at present are confined to a comparatively limited tract, in Central India and Eastern India—in the Central Provinces, in Bihar and Chota Nagpur, in Orissa and in Bengal and Assam. · At one time they were spread all over Northern India, and may be they penetrated into Southern India as well. Traces of a Kol substratum have been found in some of the Tibeto-Chinese speeches of the sub-Himalayan tracts, in the so-called 'pronominalised languages' like Kanawari and Darmiya, Khambu and Dhimal. These dialects look like being Tibeto-Burman modified by original Kol speakers who have adopted them. Then, there is the language called Burushaski, which is spoken to the north-west of Kashmir. in the districts of Yasin and Hunza-Nagar : this language is a puzzle, and it has not yet been possible to affiliate it to any known family of speech. But a recent theory about Burushaski is that it is connected with Kol ; which theory, if proved, would possibly extend the vista of Kol, or of Primitive Kol, further beyond the sub-Himalayan limits. Kol traditions have dim memories of a period of Kol settlement and rule in Northern India, and isolated tribes like the Cheros of South-eastern United Provinces were originally Kol speakers. The Bhil people of Rajputana and Khandesh, now speaking dialects of the Aryan Rājasthānī, are in all probability of Kol origin ; and the 'Kolīs' are another

aboriginal tribe in these tracts. The Kol area thus extended to Gujarat in the west.

The Aryans, when they first came in touch with them, seem to have called them *Niṣādas* (*cf.* Rama-prasad Chanda, *The Indo-Aryan Races*, Rajshahi, 1916, pp. 6 ff.) After the establishment of the Aryans in the Gangetic plains, most of the Kols were Aryanised, and became transformed into the masses and the lower orders of Hindu society, and so lost their separate linguistic and cultural identity. Those who retreated into the hills and forests, and kept up their speech and some of their primitive ways, continued to be called 'wild men' (*Niṣāda*, *Śabara*, *Pulinda*, etc.) by the Aryans ; and with increased knowledge of their life and manners, on the part of the Aryan speakers, the names *Bhilla* and *Kolla* came to be given to them, probaly by the middle of the first millennium after Christ. From these Middle Indo-Aryan words, our New Indo-Aryan terms *Bhīl* and *Kōl* are derived. The meaning and source of *Bhilla* is not known : the word *Kolla* is equally obscure, but the suggestion that it is only an early Aryanised form of the old national name of the Kol people of the east, which at the present day is found in the various Kol dialects as *hòṛ*, *hoṛo*, *hō*, *koṛo*, *kur*[1] etc. (='man'), seems to give the true explanation.

As numbers of Kol speakers became Aryanised, it would be natural to expect that some of their words and their habits of thinking would be introduced into the new language of their adoption, and a few of these would persist even to the present day. That a similar thing happened with regard to Dravidian has become one of the commonest hypotheses in Indo-Aryan linguistics. The habit of counting by twenties,

[1] NOTE—In the *trasliterations* of the Kol and other words made here in *Italic* letters, *è*, *ò* indicate the open sounds of *e*, *o*—*i.e.*, sounds approaching the *a* of *hat* and the *o* of *hot* of Southern English, or the Bengali sounds of 'অ্যা' and অ ; and *ṃ* means the nasalisation of the preceding vowel.

so persistent in Bengal, Bihar and the Upper Gangetic plain, is probably to be traced to the influence of Kol, in which the highest unit of computation is twenty. Some peculiarities of the Bihārī (Maithilī and Magahī) verbal forms are also perhaps due to Kol influence. A French scholar has recently shown (J. Przyluski in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique*, Paris, 1921) that the Sanskrit words *kadalī* 'plantain,' *kambala* 'blanket,' *śarkarā* 'sugar' are in origin Kol words. It has also been suggested (by Prof. Jules Bloch of Paris, in a private communication) that the Sankrit word *mayūra* 'peacock' is Kol, rather than Dravidian ; and *tāmbula* 'betel-leaf,' as M. Przyluski told me, seems also to be Kol ; the root of the word is probably to be found in Khasi *bal* 'betel-leaf' ; *cf.* Bengali বারই, বারুই *bār-aï*, *bār-ui* 'cultivator of the betel vine.' The word *utpala* 'lotus' seems to be Kol as well : *cf.* Muṇḍārī *upal-bá* 'floating flower.' The Aryan name of the *mohwa* tree, Skt. *madhuka* = New Indo-Aryan *mahuā*, looks like being based on the Kol *madkam* or *ma(n)dukam*. There must be many more words, which are sure to be found out on investigation.[1] Stray words in the modern Aryan languages, like Hindī *jim-nā* 'to eat' (*cf.* Kol *jom*), Panjabi *kuṛī* 'a girl' (*cf.* Santali *kuṛi*), dialectal Bengali *kāṃṛā* 'buffalo' (*cf.* Ho *kèra*), Hindī *ciṛiyā*, *ciṃṛiyā* ' bird,' which is usually connected with Sanskrit *caṭaka* 'sparrow' (but *cf.* Kol *cèṃṛèṃ* 'bird'), Bengali *mèṛā* 'ram' (*cf.* Kol *mèṛòm* 'goat'), Bengali *meni* 'cat, female cat' (*cf.* Kurku *mīnu*), and possibly many more, seem to be of Kol origin.

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Unfortunately, there was not much curiosity felt in ancient times for the language of foreign or barbarous peoples,

[1] [See in this connexion *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, being English translation of articles in French by Sylvain Levi, Jean Przyluski, and Jules Bloch, by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, with additional papers by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi and Suniti Kumar Chatterji : Calcutta University Press, 1929.]

although their peculiar ways often attracted men. If a few Old Dravidian or Old Kol sentences or words had been preserved as such in some early Sanskrit text, how very precious they would have been for the student of language ! Kumārila Bhaṭṭa, in the 7th century A.C., in his *Tantra-vārttika* quoted casually a few Tamil words, apparently as they were spoken in his time ; these, side by side with the forms actually preserved in the Old Tamil of literature and of the inscriptions, have opened up a new line of argument about the phonetics of Old Tamil and of Primitive Dravidian (*cf.* Jules Bloch, *The Intervocalic Consonants in Tamil*, in the *Indian Antiquary* for 1919, pp. 191 ff.). A stray Iranian word in Herodotos, an Old Persian sentence in Aristophanes, or a Gallic word in some classical writer, is as valuable to the philologist as a rare coin or inscription is to the historian. For Kol, even such stray words are absent in the oldest literary remains of India, in Sanskit. The Kol or other non-Aryan speaker came under the spell of the superior culture or organisation of the Aryan, and he quietly gave up his own language, and accepted that of his master or civiliser. Only here and there, in place-names, and in words or expressions not entirely ousted by Aryan, that relics of his old speech have survived, and that too in a hopelessly mutilated form. And with such non-Aryan speakers as remained faithful to their old life and old speech, the language continued to have its normal development. There was ordinarily among the Aryan-speakers in Northern India no necessity for learning a non-Aryan language, and generally no terms or expressions would be officially borrowed from non-Aryan, except those which insinuated themselves by the back-door, so to say ; and they often were altered beyond recognition in order to be accommodated to the Aryan phonetic habits (such terms being names of objects previously unknown to the Aryan speaker, or of ideas and customs which surrepti-

tiously or in a transformed shape were retained among Aryanised non-Aryans). But where it was the question of a great civilised and ruling race like the Persian or the Greek, whose languages many Indo-Aryan speakers had to learn, and whose material and intellectual cultures influenced that of India, we have borrowings by the dozen.

* * * *

It was the scientific curiosity of 19th century that first began to enquire into apparently unprofitable subjects like the customs and languages of uncultured peoples, which no one would be sorry to let die. This curiosity of course was brought to India by the European scholar : and it was the great gift of the ancient Greeks to mankind as a whole, their sense of 'humanity'. The Kol languages were taken up by about the middle of the last century. B. H. Hodgson first studied them, and he thought they were allied to Dravidian, a view in which he was followed by a few other scholars (among whom the Rev. F. Hahn is the latest, although this view has been given up by most investigators) ; and Max Müller in 1854 first dissociated the Kol languages from Dravidian, and classed them as an independent group, which he named *Muṇḍā*.

* * * *

This name, *Muṇḍā*, has become a sort of official appelation for the family. I prefer, however, with many others, the good old term *Kōl*. It is applied to the particular peoples speaking Kol languages and dialects, like the Muṇḍās proper, the Hos, the Asurs, the Bhumijes, etc. The Santals are admitted by all Aryan speakers, Bengalis, Oriyas, and Biharis, who are uninformed in ethnology or philology, but who know both the Santals and the Muṇḍās of Ranchi for instance, as being a *Kōl* people. The term is never used with regard to the Oraons and the Kandhs and

the Maler, who are the Dravidian neighbours of the Kols. The word *Kōl* is, as has been mentioned above, probably based on an early Aryan modification of an Old Kol word meaning 'man.'

Among primitive peoples, the national name very often is the common word for 'man' in their languages ; and it has been accepted almost on all hands that in the absence of a well-established word, the national word for 'man' is perhaps the best name to give to a race or group of tribes, especially where such a word survives in common in all or most of its dialects. A conspicuous example of such a name being given by philologists to a speech-family is the name *Bantu* (*cf.* Zulu *Abantu* 'men'), by which the Negro speeches of Central and South Africa, forming members of one great family, are designated. There are other instances. Following this principle, recently Professor P. Giles has proposed (in the *Cambridge History of India*) to call by the name of *Wiros* the people who were the original speakers of the Primitive Indo-European language (**wiros* = Skt. *vīras*, Lat. *vir*, Old English *wer*, etc., being the hypothetical Indo-European word for 'man').

Muṇḍā (= Skt. *muṇḍa-ka-*) means 'head-man,' and is a term of respect among the tribe known to Hindus and Europeans as Muṇḍās and Kols, but calling themselves simply *hoṛo-ko* or 'men.' This tribe numbers barely half a million. The corresponding term of respect among the Santals, by for the largest Kol tribe, 1·7 millions, is *mānjhī*, which is an Aryan word meaning 'man of the middle' (from *madhya* + *ika*). *Kōl* is thus in every respect a better name than *Muṇḍā* : it is an accurate term, an ancient term, and a term which includes the distant Kurkus as well : only the tribes of Orissa, the Juangs, the Gadabas and the Savaras, could not strictly be brought under Kol, as they seem to have lost the word for 'man' corresponding to the Santal *hòṛ*, Muṇḍārī *hoṛo* : but their speeches show sufficient

agreement with the Kol speeches to sanction their inclusion within the group. The term Kol, further, is near enough to the word *Kolarian*, which is a third name for this group of speeches. *Kolarian* has been employed for over half-century, and Muṇḍā has not entirely ousted it ; it is perhaps equally in vogue with Muṇḍā. *Kolarian* is certainly objectionable, as being unmeaning, and suggesting a sub-division into *Kol + Aryan*, which is absurd, or a connection with Kolar in Mysore, with which the Kols have had nothing to do.

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So much for the term Kol. Meanwhile other languages, of South-eastern Asia and Indonesia, as well as of the Pacific islands, both of civilised and primitive peoples, were being studied. There is the Mon people in Burma, numbering over 220,000, now confined to a small tract round about the Gulf of Martaban, and in the part of Siam adjacent to it. The Mons differ both in race and language from the Burmese proper, who originally belonged to the north, and are now the dominant people of Burma. At one time the Mons were spread over southern and central Burma. In the early centuries after Christ and possibly earlier, they had received Indian religion, Buddhism and Brahmanism, from the people of the Kalinga country, and possibly also from those of Bengal and Upper India, who used to go to Burma as merchants and adventurers, and established themselves as the dominant race there. The ancestors of the present-day Burmese were at that time wild Tibeto-Chinese speaking tribes living to the north of Burma ; and they poured down into the valleys of the country, established themselves first in the north, and after a protracted struggle with the Mons, lasting for centuries, at last forced them to the south, put an end to their rule, and entirely absorbed them in Central Burma as well as in

South Burma. The Indian culture of the Mons, with its Buddhist religion and its Indian script, was taken up by the Burmans in the 10th century A. D. Now, it has been found out that the Mon language, which has epigraphical and other documents some thousand years old, presents such a striking similarity with Kol, that they must both be referred to a common origin.

The Khasi language in Assam, again, is an island of alien speech in a tract in which the non-Aryan languages are all Tibeto-Burman. Khasi agrees with both Kol and Mon, and is thus apparently a link in a chain once extending from Central India to Burma, the other links in between being now lost. This chain extends further to the east. In Cambodia live the Khmers, now numbering over 1·5 millions, and their speech is a sister dialect to Mon. The Khmers were once spread over Siam ; and culture, religion, legends, art and letters, everything was brought to them by settlers from India. By the 6th century A.C., the land of the Khmers, like that of the Mons, had become part of a Greater India. The history of the Khmers presents a parallel to that of their cousins the Mons. Indianised in culture and religion and in general mentality, though not in language, they were overwhelmed by the Tibeto-Chinese speaking Siamese, coming down to the south like the Burmese. The Siamese forced the Khmers to Cambodia, where they are now confined ; but, like the Burmese, they obtained their Buddhistic religion, their Indian culture, their writing, from the people they conquered.

In Burma and Indo-China, there are other isolated speeches, like the Palaung, the Wa, the Stieng, the Bahnar, etc., which are allied to Kol-Khasi-Mon-Khmer.

We can very well think of a period when one type of speech extended from Gujarat, the Ganges Valley, and the Himalayan slopes, through Bengal, right up to the Mekhong basin. We can imagine that about the beginning of the

Christian era, and during the first five hundred years after Christ, when Indian influences were actively working among the Mons and the Khmers, all this was of the nature of Aryanising the Kol peoples in India itself. Aryanised Kols, welded into one people with Aryanised Dravidians, from the Ganges Valley and the Central India tracts, undoubtedly had some share in the work of bringing Indian civilisation to their kinsmen in Indo-China, side by side with the true Aryans, Brahmans and Kshatriyas, and mixed groups from Upper India.

* * * *

Further studies have shown that the languages of some primitive tribes in the Malay Peninsula, like the Sakai and the Semang, and the speech of the Nicobar Islanders, are of the same Kol-Mon-Khmer group. The story of the development of this branch of linguistic studies has been told lucidly in the *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. IV. Embracing all these languages, this group has been very well named *Austro-Asiatic* or 'Southern Asiatic' by the German scholar Father W. Schmidt. Further, the Malayan speeches of the islands of the Indian Archipelago, like Malay, Javanese and Sundanese of Java, Balinese, Battak, the Celebes Speech, Tagalog and Visaya of the Philippines, and Malagasy of Madagascar, which have been studied so brilliantly on the comparative side by Brandstetter, and the Melanesian and Polynesian languages, have all been found to be connected with Austro-Asiatic. The researches of Father Schmidt have been of the most far-reaching results : a new family of speeches has been established in all its wide extent, taking its place beside the already well-known speech families like Indo-European, Semitic-Hamitic, Sino-Tibetan, Dravidian, Ural-Altaic, and Bantu : namely the *Austric* family of languages, extending from Central India to the Hawaii Islands and Easter

Island in the extreme east of the Pacific, and embracing a number of languages which have been vehicles of high types of Indian colonial culture, namely, Mon and Khmer, and Malay, Javanese and Balinese. (See P. W. Schmidt, *Die Mon-Khmer-Völker, ein Bindeglied zwischen Völkern Zentral-Asiens und Austro-nesiens* : Brunswick, 1906 ; the map at p. 70 in this work gives the terrain of the Austric languages).

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Since the days of Hodgson, systematic study of the Kol dialects was going on apace. English civilians, officers and others, in some instances helped by Bengali and other Indian assistants, were publishing papers on Kol speech, ethnology and folklore in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* and other periodicals, and in the Gazetteers and other official publications. Above all, the various Christian missionary bodies have been doing conspicuous work. The Scandinavian missionaries among the Santals, and the German missionaries, Protestant and Catholic, among the Muṇḍās, are to be specially mentioned in this connexion. The more important works on Kol ethnology and linguistics which can be named are Sir George Campbell's *Ethnology of India* (JASB., 1866), E. G. Man's *Sonthalia and the Sonthals* (London, 1867), E.T. Dalton's *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872), the Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud's *Santali Grammar* (Benares, 1873) and Collection of Santal Traditions and Customs, in Santali (Benagaria, 1887), A. Campbell's *Santali-English Dictionary* (Pokhuria, 1899), the Rev. A. Nottrott's Kol or Muṇḍārī Grammar, in German, 1882, later trnslated into English), the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann's *Mundari Grammar* (Calcutta, 1903), and the Rev. John Drake's Kurku Grammar (Calcutta, 1903), besides some publications on Santali linguistics by E. Kuhn (in German) and E. Heuman and Vilhelm Thomsen (in Danish), and Sir George A. Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*,

Vol. IV, Muṇḍā and Dravidian Languages (Calcutta, 1906), prepared with the assistance of the Norwegian orientalist Dr. Sten Konow ; and one of the latest and most comprehensive books on the ethnology and history of a Kol tribe, the Muṇḍās, is *The Mundas and their Country* (Calcutta and Ranchi, 1912), by Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, which is a pioneer work by an Indian, and one of the best works too, on the study of the life of a primitive tribe. All these and other works have placed the study of Kol language and ethnology on a sound basis ; although we still lack detailed studies of the speech and life of some of the lesser known Kol tribes of the southern Kol area—the Juangs, the Savaras and the Gadabas, who seem to have differentiated from their cousins to some extent, but who now are numerically insignificant.[1]

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The most important Kol language, from the point of view of number and extent, is unquestionably Santali. The Rev. Bodding thinks, in his most valuable work on the phonetics of Santali (a notice of which is made the occasion for these remarks), that it is more faithful to its native Kol character than its sister-dialect Muṇḍārī, which has been studied so brilliantly by Father Hoffmann in his Grammar, and which is sometimes regarded as the purest dialect. Santali is spoken by a larger number than the Aryan Assamese, for instance, and also many other better known languages of the world. The difference between Santali and other Kol speeches is very small indeed. The Santals

[1] [Among other important works published during the last twenty years on the subject, mention must be made of the following : P. O. Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, Part II, Dumka, 1929 ; his great Santali Dictionary, Oslo, 1931-1936 ; his *Studies in Santal Medicine and connected Folklore* in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. X, 1925-1941 ; the various volumes by the late Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy on the Birhors (1925), the Kharias (1927) and the Hill Bhuiyans of Orissa (1935) ; and the valuable *Encyclopœdia Mundarica* of Father Hoffmann and his associates, 14 vols., including 1 of plates, Patna, 1930-1932.]

were originally in Hazaribagh district, where some five centuries ago they and the Muṇḍās formed one people. They are now found in the Western Bengal districts of Midnapore, Bankura, Burdwan, and Birbhum, and in the Santal-Parganas and Manbhum, and in Mayurbhanj State; aud scattered communities of Santals are found elsewhere. They came to Bengal, within the Bengali-speaking area, only very recently, mostly in the 18th and early 19th centuries. There were in West Bengal other Kol-speaking tribes, brothers and cousins of the Santals, who have long been Aryanised: possibly the Suhmas and the Rāḍhas, about whose uncivilised character the Jaina texts dating from about the 3rd century B. C. testify, and who have given their names to West Bengal, and have long since merged in the lower ranks of a Bengali-speaking people. The ancestors of Hindu castes like the Bāgdīs, the Bāurīs, the Hāḍīs and the Ḍoms were in all probability Kols. Some of the customs of the Hāḍīs and Ḍoms in and about Calcutta seem very much like Kol: witness their cult of Bīr-Kālī, who is propitiated by offerings of rice-beer and sacrifice of pigs, and who is called Bīr-Kālī 'because she roams about in the forests,' as one Ḍom once explained to me; and we may note that the Kol word 'forest' is *bir*. And perhaps also there was another tribe, the Chuhāḍas, whose name has given the Bengali word for 'a wild fellow, a ruffian,' চোহাড়, চোয়াড় *cō(h)āḍ*. The following couplet from the *Caṇḍīkāvya* of Kavi-kaṅkaṇa Mukunda-rāma, who flourished during the last quarter of the 16th century, would be interesting. The hunter Kālakētu, a man of the lowest caste, living on the outskirts of the village, says of himself to the goddess Durgā (Baṅgabāsī Press edition, p. 73):

অতি নীচকুলে জন্ম জাতিতে চোয়াড়।
কেহ না পরশ করে, লোকে বলে রাঢ়॥

ati-nīca-kul-ē janma, jāti-tē cōāḍ(a),
kēha nā paraś(a) karē, lōkē balē rāḍ(ha):

'Birth in a very low caste, a *Cōhāḍ* ; none touches (me), people call (me) a *Rāḍha*.'

This caste-name Chohāḍ recalls the Chuhḍās, a sweeper caste in the Panjab.

Some of the Kol speakers, when they were of the ruling classes, even became Kshatriyas within the Hindu pale. The Santals must have been living to the west of the Bengali or Aryanised area and appear to have been known to the Bengali Hindus of pre-Muslim times, as an important, 'border-tribe' : the very name by which the Hindus (and following them the Europeans) know them means 'borderers' : সাওঁতাল *Sāoṃtāl*, from Old Bengali *সাৱঁত্তআল *Sāwaṃtta-āla*, earlier *সাৱঁন্তৱাল *Sāwaṃnta-wāla* = Skt. *Sāmanta-pāla*.

Next in importance to the Santals are the Muṇḍās, numbering over 400,000, and the Hos, over 300,000, and allied tribes of Chota Nagpur and the Central Provinces. They possess the same traditions, their religious practices and beliefs are the same, and their ways of life are identical.

* * * *

The Kol tribes, as represented by the Santals and the Muṇḍās and the Hos, are thus among the most primitive peoples in India, possibly the oldest people in our country, after the Negroid stocks found in South India. And they are among the most lovable of peoples. In their primitive and unsophisticated state, they are like big children ; frank and sincere, and honest and straightforward even when 'civilisation' has penetrated among them and has sought to spoil them in every way ; gentle and peaceful by disposition, hard-working enough to meet their simple needs, loving dance and song, generally with strong family attachments, living a clean and healthy life in the midst of nature : a picture of life almost idyllic in its charm for the over-civilised mortal in the cities. The poetry underlying much of the this life of the Kols, where they have not been spoiled, has

been felt and appreciated by people of culture in Bengal : witness, for example, the sketch of Kol life in his inimitable book *Pālāmau* by Sanjiva Chandra Chatterjee, elder brother of the illustrious Bankim Chandra Chatterjee (first published in the eighties of the last century). The Kol or Santal figures already in Bengali fiction, in a number of short stories, full of pathos, full of sympathy. His life has been viewed and studied here and there by people who have come in touch with him. The new National Indian School of Painting in Calcutta has given us some beautiful paintings of Kol life—Santal girls, Santal couples, and, above all, that glorious picture by Nandalal Bose, *Dance in the Forest*, a group of Kol girls dancing to the sound of the drum (*ḍumang* or *mādal*) in the flowering forest—a vision of colour and of throbbing life.

The religion of the Kols is animism, or worship of invisible nature spirits, called *boṅgas*, with a Supreme Spirit *Siṅg-boṅga*, who is identified with the Sun or Day-light. *Siṅg-boṅga* is the invisible Creator of everything, the Ruler of All, the Utterly Great or Supreme One, the God who is appealed to in distress, the solemn Witness of men's deeds, who tells men how to propitiate the lower spirits when they bring about sickness (*Cf.* Hoffmann's *Mundari Grammar*, p. vii). We have here a conception of the deity which is quite lofty, and which is not much removed from what an average man holds in a civilised community. In addition to these *boṅgas*, the Kols believe in the spirits of the fathers, and the ritual of worship connected with this cult has a poetic aspect too. It is now difficult, however, to dissociate from the current Kol beliefs and religious and other observances the genuine Kol elements from those adopted by the Kols from their Hindu neighbours. It must also be noted that a great many ideas, cults and practices of popular Hinduism owe their origin to the Kols and other non-Aryans who have long ago been brought within the Hindu

fold ; nay, in philosophic Hinduism too, some notions. *e.g.*, that of transmigration, which cannot be traced to the Indo-European world, are essentially of the Indian soil, and had their origin undoubtedly in the animistic religion of the non-Aryans absorbed in the Hindu people.

* * * *

The Kols do not have a *civilisation*, but like all peoples, primitive or advanced, savage or civilised—and the Kols emphatically are not a *savage* people—they have a *culture*, which is bound up with their language and their life. Kol life with its socio-religious institutions, its periodical festivals and gatherings, its songs and dances, its rude style of ornament, its sense of wonder for the life around, in the passing on of its tales and traditions from generation to generation, has kept up this culture as a living thing. It is this culture and these traditions that make life beautiful. When these are destroyed, with nothing to take their place except a material civilisation that looks only to the body, men become savages in the midst of civilisation ; and such civilised savages are not uncommon in Europe and America, both among the richest classes who only worship Mammon, and among the inhabitants of the slums in big cities. Kol life, however, cannot keep up much longer its primitive outlook, which is that of forester and hunter. The times, as well as outside influences, are too strong for it. There is a great influx of *Dikus*, or Hindu and Musalman outsiders, into the heart of the Kol country : and outside influences in the shape of Hinduism and Christianity are modifying profoundly the life of the Kol, and undermining his national culture, making it lose its special features, and so destroying it.

Hinduism has spread among the Kols without any organised propaganda ; the changes brought about through contact with Hinduism have been gradual, and unconscious,

and it seems, without any antagonism from the Kols. Whole communities have accepted Hindu notions and practices in their religious and social life without there being any appreciable disturbance of the *milieu* in which the Kol lived and thought. This, of course, has been impossible with Christianity. As a militant religion, which claimed to have the truth all to itself, it rejected all ideas and notions which were not in conformity to itself, and instead of seeking to transmute them gradually to something higher, it sought to sweep them away to make room for another world of ideas totally incomprehensible to a primitive people, a world evolved in a society entirely different. Of course, this was done with the deepest of convictions and the best of intentions. But this has brought about, in those cases where it has been successful, a total dislocation of the old life with its own standards ; and, while substituting many of the amenities of civilisation, and bringing in the outward triumph of a nobler faith, it has seriously impaired the stability and often the self-respect of those who have been overwhelmed by it. After all, our religion is our inner life which is intimately connected with our material life, and universal uniformity in matters of religion and philosophical notions is a thing which is impossible. Each man creates his own religion ; and each community establishes a type, which has deviations with individuals. Within the same civilised society, the relgious ideas of the most enlightened communities are bound to differ from those of the lowest. So, too, the religion of a primitive people must differ from that of a civilised one, even when the latter is super-imposed on the former. A compromise there is always ; otherwise, attempts to endow a barbarous or uncultured people with the complicated theological and other notions, evolved through a long period among a hlghly civilised people like the Europeans, with their complex life and history, to the entire exclusion of the

proper notions current among the former, have often proved to be grotesque in their result, frequently tragi-comic, and sometimes disastrous: as we see in the case of the Pacific Islanders, and some Africans.

I do not mean in the least to disparage the message of the God-man Christ. But what I mean to say is, that in the days gone by there has been too often, on the part of the average missionary, a blindness to all that is good and noble and beautiful in 'heathen' or barbarous culture, an inability to appreciate the good points in a primitive or non-Christian society. This was ordinarily due to a vulgar pride in European material civilisation wrongly regarded as the outward expression of Christianity. When this attitude is accepted as a matter of course by the disciples of the missionary in any non-Christian community, civilised or primitive, it cannot be conducive to any self-respect. It must be said the there was no lack of missionaries from time to time, who could rise above the ordinary prejudices. Happily for the world, for both the Christian missionaries and their disciples, this attitude of uncompromising contempt is passing away. The missionary outlook with regard to things non-Christian generally is changing, from what used to characterise the publications of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge of Madras to that found in the recent works inaugurated by the Association Press (Y.M.C.A.) of Calcutta to bring to the Indian youth the heritage of his national culture, for a better understanding of it and for feeling a legitimate pride in it.

I have digressed a little. I brought in all this only to pay tribute to the work done by certain enlightened missionaries, who, actuated by a broader humanity and by a scientific curiosity, have recognised the value of native culture, and have sought to preserve the best elements in it, and have studied and systematised it, while endeavouring to bring the nobler spiritual life according to the teachings of Jesus. We

are grateful to missionaries like Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud and the Rev. P. O. Bodding, to the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann. and the Rev. A. Nottrott, and others, for enabling us to add another world to our domain of study and sympathetic understading of our brother-man—the world of the Kol.

* * * *

The Kols lacked intellectual life ; they never had any system of writing, and they could not as a consequence have had any literature as a conscious production of their cultural life. But they have a rich store-house of traditional tales and songs. Story-telling and song-craft are common to all Kol peoples, like music (playing on the deep-toned drum, called *ḍumang* by the Kols and *mādal* by Bengalis, and on the hauntingly sweet bamboo-flute) and dancing. The outside world has been enabled to taste the beauty and sweetness of this fountain-head of primitive nature and love-poetry through the monographs of the Rev. Nottrott (*Mundari-Kol Lieder*, in the *Zeitschrift fur Volkskunde, III*, pp. 381 ff., referred to by Grierson in the *Linguistic Survey of India*), of the Rev. Father J. Hoffmann (*Mundari Poetry, Music and Dances* in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1907, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 85-120), of Mr. Sarat Chandra Roy, the eminent Bengali anthropologist, now Professor in the University of Patna (in his *Mundas and their Country*, Calcutta, 1912, pp. 508 ff., and in the pages of the *Hindustan Review* subsequently), and of a few other gentlemen. Stray songs from the Santali have appeared in the Bengali periodicals ; and a collection of Santali songs seems to have been made by the Rev. P. O. Bodding (cf. pp. 100-105 of his *Materials for a Santali Grammar*). It seems that the Santal, although he possesses a musical soul, has expressed himself better in story than in song. The Muṇḍārī songs are among the most beautiful specimens of poetry of the simple and primitive type : every one who has

read them will agree that they are among the fairest flowers in the garden of Indian poetry. These are all little lyrics, there are very few long poems or ballads. Love, description of nature, the chase, dialogues, laments, and occasional description of some big event—these are the subject matters of Kol poetry. The valuable paper of Father Hoffmann, and the articles of Mr. Roy, form the most sympathetic and readable introduction to the Kol spirit for the English reader. What delicacy, what charm, what unconscious art in many of the songs and poetical dialogues of this unlettered people of the hills and forests ! I cannot refain from the temptation of quoting a few from Father Hoffmann and Mr. Roy.

Here is a poem from Father Hoffmann's collection, the poem itself is delicate as a flower :

1. *Cikan baha bahalenam main ?*
   Baha baha soanam !
   Cikan dandid' dandid' lenam main ?
   Daili daili sinrinjam !
2. *Bahate ci umentanam ?*
   Baha baha soanam !
   Dandid'te ci rearantanam ?
   Daili daili sinrinjam !

1. Into what flower hast thou blossomed, maiden ?
   Thou art fragrant like the flowers !
   Into what bunch of flowers hast thou grown, maiden ?
   Thou art full of perfume like a bouquet !
2. (Or) dost thou wash thyself in flowers, maiden,
   (That) thou art fragrant like the flowers ?
   (Or) dost thou bathe in blossoms, maiden,
   (That) thou art full of perfume like a bouquet ?

Another Muṇḍārī lover addresses his beloved in the following terms, as paraphrased by Mr. Roy :

How lovely thy head with wealth of waving hair,
Its locks with red twine tied in round knot fair !
O ! day and night, thou wreaths of flow'rs dost weave,
For thee my heart doth burn and bosom heave !

How bracelets and armlets those fair arms bedeck !
And necklace bright adorns thy beauteous neck !
Sweet sounds the jingling *pola* on thy feet,
For thee my heart doth burn and anxious beat.

Bo tama risa risa,
Supid kedam ranga naca,
Nida singi, ba-gem gututana,
Nama nagen jige jitana !
Andutadam sakomtadam,
Hotore do hisir mena,
Polatamdo cilka saritana,
Nama nagen jige lotana.

Here is a girl addressing her lover, and he is replying in the last verse :

(*Kuri*) *Nata mata birko talare, nalohom nirja baginga,*
Ramecan marecare, nalohom nojor rarainga.
Kacihom nele ledinga, sengel lekaing juletanre ?
Kacihom cina ledinga, da-leka-ing lingitanre ?
(*Kora*) *Kage coaing nelejadme, note redo note dudgar,*
Kage coaing cinajadme, sinma redo sinma koansi.

In the midst of a dense forest, O youth, do not run away
and leave me behind,
In a long and wide heath, O youth, do not desert me
and flee away !
Saw you not me, O youth, when I gleamed like flame ?
Beheld you not me, O youth, when I flowed like water ?

Truly I saw you not, for on earth loomed the rushing
dust storm :
Verily I had beheld thee not, for the sky was clouded
by skyey mist.

The following poem describes the joy of the hunt :

Underneath yon *mohwa* tree,—grazes, lo ! a fawn—
Grazes on !
Crouching down yon path see huntsman moving slow,—
Stooping low !
Meals of *madkam* sweet have hither lured the deer,—
Roves it here !
Quick to shoot the fawn doth huntsman upright stand,—
Bow in hand !

Down beneath the *madkam's* shade, lo ! falls the fawn,—
Falls adown !
Glad the huntsman, hark ! with merry voice,—
Doth rejoice !

And the deep call of the drum to the dance makes the Kol youth's heart leap with joy, and this is beautifully expressed in the following poem :

The *dumang* sounds at Kot Karambu,
My heart leaps at the sound,
At the sound ;
The *kartal* rings at Barigara,
My heart with glee doth bound
At the sound.
The *dumang* sounds at Kot Karambu,
O ! haste, my dear, to the dance,
To the dance.
The *kartal* clanks at Barigara,
O ! rise, my dear, from thy trance
To the dance.

The Santal youth also says (in a fragment from Mr. Bodding) :

Alas, by hearing this (music),
It burns in my soul like a fire-pan.

Fragments of a few Santali songs, such as are given by Mr. Bodding, have a delicate poignancy and charm of their own. A deserted wife sings :

I cook rice, I prepare curry, I give him heaps ;
Still he says, I will not keep this wife.

And an affectionate son laments for his lost mother :

Alas, alas, formerly
When we came from anywhere,
Our mother sitting in the door
Used to meet us with caresses like the young *maina*.

Mr. Roy essayed rendering the Muṇḍārī songs into English verse. He is a wide and accomplished student of English literature, and occasionally he could not help bringing in conventional expressions of English poetry in his translations. This cannot but jar on our sensibility, yet

the artless beauty of the Kol originals shines through their English dress.

I wish that Father Hoffmann, or Mr. Roy, or some other lover of the Kol people and their poetry, with the requisite knowledge of the language, or a group of scholars working together, would give us some day a good collection of Kol poetry, in Muṇḍārī and Santali and other allied dialects, the original text in Kol, properly transliterated with a veiw to philological studies, and a plain, literal, English translation. This certainly will have a scientific value for the ethnologist and student of language. But this will have a wider appeal for the general reader as well—the lover of poetry, and of primitive life and experience, which is having a growing fascination as we are advancing in material culture. Father Hoffmann regrets that the Kol young men everywhere are forgetting their beautiful old songs ; the old spirit is passing away : new songs are rarely made now ; and possibly the old ones are being fast forgotten. Even now, it seems these could be culled by the hundred. Collection is urgently necessary. It may be hoped that in the near future this collection will be for the Kol people, if they survive the present insidious onslaught which is threatening their very existence, and are enabled to attain to an adult age in their national life, a source of national pride—like the mass of national lyrics among most peoples. In any case, it will be a *possession for ever* for civilised man also, as the record of unsophisticated human sentiment in one of its primitive, but most peaceful, almost idyllic, settings.[1]

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The traditional tales and narratives of the Kols have been partially collected. In 1870-71 the late Rev. L. O.

[1 Since writing the above in 1923, I have to record with very great pleasure that through the enlightened interest of W. G. Archer, Esqr., I.C.S., and under his general editorship, some good collections of poems in Santali, Mundari, Ho and Kharia, as well as in the Dravidian Oraon, have been published from Patna during 1942-43.]

Skrefsrud had fortunately got an old Santal sage named Kòlèan (=Kalyāṇa) to narrate to him the traditions of his people and accounts of their social life and institutions, which he faithfully took down and published in the original Santali in 1887. This book—*Hòṛ-ko-rèn Mare Hapṛam-ko-reak' Katha*—is the great classic in their language, which, thanks to this enlightened Christian Missionary, the Santals have been enabled to possess, The language of this prose *Purāṇa* and *Gṛhya* and *Dharma Sūtra* of the Santals is in its purest from, such as it was spoken half a century ago, when Santal life was much more self-contained. But it already shows a large number of Aryan (Bihārī and Bengali) words ; and there are interspersed Bengali and Bihārī songs, showing the invasion of Hindu ideas into their domestic and religious life. Unfortunately, this book has not been translated, and so it remains quite a sealed book to those who do not know the language. But there must have been a slight demand for it among educated Santals ; since the book has been published in a second edition by Mr. Bodding. Mr. Bodding as a Christian missionary who has dedicated his life to the service and uplift of the Santals, is their most sympathetic friend, and, as he states in the preface to the Rev. Skrefsrud's book, he has himself collected another large mass of materials from among the Santals, folk-tales and songs and customs and traditions, of great ethnological value, and undoubtedly of very great human interest. It is hoped that all this will be published later on with English translations.[1] It is pleasing to note that as an appendix to the second edition of the Rev. Skrefsrud's book, Mr. Bodding prints the resolutions which a number of representative Santals passed at Dumka in

[1 These have since been published in a very fine edition from the Oslo Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture—*Institutet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning*—in 3 volumes, Santal text with English translation opposite, in 1925-29, and one volume has been published, text and translation, from the Indian Institute of of the Royal Frederik University, Kristiania or Oslo, 1924.]

February, 1916, expressing 'what they would wish to become the law of inheritance of women among Santals' : a fitting pendant to a collection, of national importance for the Santals, of their social institutions and traditions, which, it would be hoped, they would not let die wherever they are beautiful and poetic, and are not in antagonism to the spirit of the Christian religion which they might be receiving.

* * * *

A portion of Mr. Bodding's collection of Santalī folk-tales has been translated into English and published by Mr. Cecil Henry Bompas of the Indian Civil Service (*Folk-lore of the Santal Parganas*, London, David Nutt, 1909). This is one of the most entertaining books on Indian folk-lore. Mr. Bompas mentions another collection of Santal stories by the Rev. Dr. Campbell, made in the district of Manbhum and published 1891. A great many of these tales, as Mr. Bompas notes, are not purely Santal in origin ; they from part of the common stock of Indian folk-lore, and the Kols probably got them from their Hindu neighbours. The Indian animal stories, however, might be pre-Aryan, and were transformed by the literary genius of the Aryan, in the Buddhist *Jātaka Book* and in the Brahmanical *Pañca-tantra*. In addition to the traditional stories, and stories relating to witch-craft, the tales dealing with the *boṅgas* and their relations with men and women are undoubtedly specifically Kol. These last are not many. But some at least among them are very beautiful, and they certainly ought to be better known. Some of these deal with the old theme of the love of a mortal youth or maiden and a sylvan spirit or godling. There are only two or three representative *genres*. A typical story is of a girl who goes to the forest to pluck leaves with her companions, meets a forest spirit or godling, a *boṅga koṛa*, who generally lives in a cave, stays with him, and is happy, but her friends and

parents do not like this connexion, and they try to kill her *boṅga* lover, and bring her home ; but the *boṅga* does not give up the girl, her head aches and aches, and she dies in a short time, apparently to join her lover in the world of the *boṅgas*. Or it is of a young herdsboy tending his buffaloes or cattle and playing on his bamboo-flute in the woody hills, and he is loved by a *boṅga* girl, who comes to him, looking like a pretty human maiden. This is the Kol version of the myth of Approditē and the herdsman Ankhisēs, and other Greek stories, and is no less charming, The *boṅga* girl inhabits a spring, 'on the margin of which grew many *akaṛ* flowers,'—a little detail which the Santal narrator gives. The herdsboy goes into the waters of the spring to pluck flowers for the girl, and she casts some sort of spell on her lover, and takes him down along the spring to her people in the *boṅga* world. There the seats are coiled snakes, and tigers and leopards crouching there are the watch-dogs. The *boṅgas* sometimes go out hunting with their tigers and leopards, and men cutting wood in the jungle are their quarry. Sometimes the young man comes out and lives as a man among men, but meets secretly his *boṅga* wife in some underwater place in the forest, and his affairs prosper exceedingly, and he becomes a *jān guru*—a man of oracles. This part of the story reminds one of the old Roman legend of King Numa and the nymph Egeria. The *boṅgas* are sometimes mischief-making beings, thievish and clever, who can be non-plussed by cleverer men. These Kol stories of the *boṅgas* resemble more than anything else the Celtic (Irish) stories about the fairy folk—the *sidhe* or *shee*, and their loves with mortals, and the *brownies* and mischievous *elves* of Northern European popular mythology. Ethnology might see traces of a pre-Kol race in these *boṅga* stories, just as the *shee* are but the pre-Irish dwellers of Ireland translated into the domain of legend. But in the meanwhile, we can enjoy them as the embodiment of the mystery and

romance of forest life such as it impressed the untutored Kol. The Vedic Aryan peopled the forest and the waters and the hills with the goddess Araṇyāṇī, with wood-nymphs and with gods, with the Apsarases and the Gandharvas ; the Greek with wood and water nymphs, the Dryads, the Naiads and the Nereids, and the Satyrs, and with Pan ; and the Kol saw the *boṅga koṛa* and the *boṅga kuṛi*—fairy youths and fairy maidens—in the deep virgin forests of Central India that encompassed his hamlet or homestead. Sarat Chandra Roy gives the following account of the minor deities of Muṇḍā mythology : "the *Buru Bonga*, the presiding spirit of the hills, the *Ikir Bonga* whose seat is in the deep waters, the *Naga Borga* who resides in the uplands and in that ravines, the *Desauli Bonga* whose dwelling is in the beautiful woodlands, the *Chondor Ikir Bonga* who haunts romantic spots by the side of the crystal springs, and the *Chandi Bonga* whose altar is in shady groves, in the open fields, or on the heights."

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The study of Kol—language, enthnology, folk-lore—has thus its important aspects. A great part of India has never been predominantly the Ārya's country. In the making of our people, at least among the masses of the lower ranks, there has been undoubtedly a Kol element, and a srong one too. Certain tracts, *e.g.*, the Central Indian plateaux, are overwhelmingly Kol. We shall be guilty of gracelessness and of national snobbery if in Northern India, in the pride of our Aryan language and culture, we ignored our humble non-Aryan relations—the Kols, and the Dravidians, as well as the Tibeto-Burman Boḍos and others. The study of the Kol speeches as a discipline, like all scientific studies, has a unique value. And this discipline has some reference to the study of our Aryan mother-tongues also. To unfold the grammatical structure of Santali or

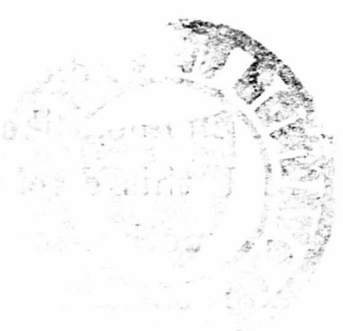
Muṇḍārī of course would be pleasure only for the specialist. But there should be people with even a slight knowledge of Kol while studying Modern Indo-Aryan philology, to find out the points of contact, if any are to be found, between Kol and Aryan, where Aryan has assimilated to Kol. The ordinary Aryan speaker, with a certain amount of culture, and interest in his mother-tongue, cannot fail to feel curious about that.

From a review (published in the *Calcutta Review* for September 1923) of the following two works :—

Hor-ko-rèn Mare Hapram-ko-reak' Katha : The Traditions of the Santals. (Collected by the late Rev. L. O. Skrefsrud. Second edition, revised by the Rev. P. O. Bodding.) Published by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, Benagaria, 1916.

Materials for a Santali Grammar : I—Mostly Phonetic : by the Rev. P. O. Bodding. Pages 167, with 5 plates. Published by the Santal Mission of the Northern Churches, Dumka, 1922.

This paper was reprinted in the *Visvabharati Quarterly* with the present title, and with the purely linguistic section of the article omitted, as in this reprint, in which an occasional verbal change and a few additions and corrections have been made.



THE FOUNDATIONS OF CIVILISATION IN INDIA*

The origin and early development of civilisation in India is a most difficult problem, but at the same time a most fascinating one, Indian culture, after it had characterised itself as *Hindu* culture, synthesising the various original elements in environment and life and ideas frequently quite antagonistic to each other, has been one of the two great factors of civilisation throughout the greater part of Asia,—the other factor being China—and still continues to be a great a living force in the World. The appeal of this ancient and complex culture of India for a systematic study, with a view to trace its antiquity and its genesis, has found a congenial response from the spirit of scientific curiosity. There have been attempts to gather facts and to arrange and classify them in their historical sequence and mutual connexions, and to draw conclusions therefrom. When the facts at our disposal were meagre, too meagre to give even an outline picture, there was the inevitable tendency to supplement this meagreness with the richness of imagination. Hypotheses were framed, coloured undoubtedly by the predilection of their framers, and these on the surface seemed to explain the facts. These hypotheses through long and unquestioned acceptance came almost to have the self-evidentiveness and the authority of axioms. But closer study with the help of some newer sciences (like Anthropology and Ethnology)—and study without predilection, both in Europe and in India—has revealed newer facts, which,

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when placed in their proper order, have rendered some of these hypotheses out-of-date. The discoveries of archaeology, prehistoric as well as of the historical periods, both in India itself and in the lands connected with India by racial or cultural contact ; the findings of anthropology and ethnology ; the general advance in scientific methodology enabling us to have quite easily a broader historical outlook ; and, above all, a growing sympathy, even love for the subject and for the living peoples who come under its scope, moving hand in hand with a growing knowledge humanising the latter ; all these, which have come into being during the last quarter of a century, enable us to make a re-statement of the case. This re-statement, of course, is not, and cannot be (at least for a long time) final : but it is coming to have general acceptance from scholars, in part or in entirety, as it is unquestionably the most reasonable one. In the present paper, I shall attempt to indicate the general lines of the foundations and early development of Hindu culture. India is racially and culturally connected from the earliest times with South-eastern Asia, and with the islands of what has been called "Malaysia". It is quite appropriate that the lands of South-eastern Asia—Burma, Siam, Kamboja and Annam—have been called "Farther India", and "India beyond the Ganges" (*India extra Gangem*) from the time of the Greek geographers : and it is equally appropriate that the modern sense of exact definition should be using, since Douwes Dekker (Multatuli) first employed it in the sixties of the last century, the very expressive term "Insulindia", and (since the German scholar A. Bastian first promulgated it in the eighties) the equally expressive and perhaps more suitable name "Indonesia." From the earliest times, owing to having a common type of man as their in-dwellers, India, Indo-China and Indonesia have formed one country. This basic unity of race and culture type, which is prehistoric, was further strengthened by the

over-flowing, beyond the geographical boundaries of India, of the rich and composite Hindu culture into Indo-China and Indonesia in historical times, as that Hindu culture itself was evolving on the Indian mainland by the inter-action among the Austro-Asiatic (Kol or Muṇḍā), Dravidian and Aryan worlds of culture and notions. Indonesia is in its history and culture a part of a "Greater India", from the prehistoric times downwards. In addition to this interest of common affinity and largely of a cognate origin of its peoples, the problems of subsequent history have been similar in India and Indonesia. The question of Indian origins therefore touch those of Indonesia, and as such these questions of Indology have a permanent and a paramount interest for students of "Indonesianics" also.

The hypothetical reconstruction of the foundation of Indian culture which has been made almost entirely on philological grounds during the last century—a reconstruction which may be said to be orthodox, which we were taught in our schools, and which is now in need of revision —briefly put, is this : that over three thousand years ago, perhaps four to five thousands years ago, India was inhabited by dark-skinned aborigines, of the Kol and Dravidian stocks and speeches, who were primitive peoples with a very low standard of culture. Civilisation with its arts and its ideals of social organisation was brought into India for the first time by the white Aryan people. The original home of this civilising Aryan people was not known. Philology proved their linguistic affinity with the peoples of Europe, and the science of Comparative Religion and Culture, even in its infancy, could discern agreements berween the world of the Indo-Aryans and that of the Indo-Europeans of Greece and Italy, and of the Celtic, Germanic and Slav lands. Prehistoric Archaeology was not yet called into being, and Imagination was in possession of her rightful place. The original home of the Aryans (and the

Indo-Europeans) was laid in Central Asia, a very central place indeed, and charming in addition through being at that time a land of romantic mystery. The records of the born or naturalised Aryans in the Vedic and other documents were our main (if not the only) source of information : and the analogy with the present day Indo-European peoples, spreading through a restless urge as a powerful aristocracy into the lands of the darker races and imposing on these latter consciously or unconsciously their own culture with its pronounced superiority on the material side as well as in organisation and discipline, was too tempting and too strong for preventing the hypothesis of a civilising Aryan people in a prehistoric India from shaping itself, and at the same time from being highly coloured by it. The mentality behind this theory was one that can be easily understood, namely, the matter-of-course acceptance of the notion of a highly cultured Aryan race, the prototype of the present-day Europeans, spreading in ancient times also as a civilising force. This theory came to India also as soon as it was formulated in Europe by Max Müller and the rest. And the higher castes in India, which had accepted European or modern mentality through their English studies, found no difficulty in accepting this theory, as it gave them as the unquestioned descendants of the Aryan conquerors a close racial kinship with their English rulers (a sense of kinship which perhaps gave them a secret pleasure which they would not care to analyse). The was fostered by the absence of complete social assimilation with the masses : and this absence of social assimilation as between two originally different races, at first emphasised and fully defined by the Brahmanical notions of caste, was further aggravated by the disintegrating force of European culture, which by giving them a new world of ideas tended to foster in them a sense of aloofness from the lower and uneducated groups. So that the theory of a civilised Aryan

people coming to India as conquerors and bringing the light of culture to the dark races found a tacit acceptance with most educated people in India, except the old-style *pandits* who as elsewhere mixed up theology with mythology and with human history.

But this simple reconstruction of the beginnings of civilisation in India, namely, of the Aryans coming to India and settling down in a barbarian land and becoming the fountain-head of all that is good and great in Indian culture, began to be seriously questioned. The contradictions of mentality and of culture which are present even now in India, and of which the Hindu synthesis has in many cases made but a badly patched-up job, brought in complications. There is the fact of the Dravidian languages and the rather distinct type of Hindu culture in the South, as compared with the Aryan-speaking North ; and then there were enquiries into the prehistoric antiquities of the Indo-European peoples in Europe, and of the peoples of India : all these began to assail the thesis that with the Aryans it was the *Veni*, *Vidi*, *Vici* of a superior people. Linguistic Palaeontology showed the highly primitive nature of the original Indo-European *milieu*, which was far below that of contemporary peoples like the Egyptians and the Assyrio-Babylonians, already possessed of civilisations centuries and millennia old. Archaeology demonstrated the paucity of high culture in the lands of the purest Indo-European stocks—purest linguistically, if not racially. The assumption of Indo-European antiquity and superiority in culture was no longer tenable. It has been agreed generally that in their original state, before the Indo-Enropean people broke up and began to spread, they had just come into the bronze age of culture, which was sometime about the middle of the 3rd millennium B. C., at some plcce in Central or Eastern Europe. From here they began to pour down as a force

destructive to culture into the rich and highly civilised ands of the South—into Greece and the Aegean area, and into Northern Mesopotamia. The Central Asian hypothesis is well-nigh gone, notwithstanding the discovery of the Indo-European speaking "Tokharians" (Kucheans) in the Tarim Valley right up to the end of the 1st millennium A. D.—of the Tokharians whose Indo-European speech was of the Western group to which Italic and Celtic and Germanic and Greek belong. Through the unearthing of cuneiform records in Babylonian as well as in the various ancient tongues of Western Asia, we are gradually coming to obtain a clearer notion of the route by which the Indo-Europeans (as Aryans) came into India. I shall here first give an *a priori* narrative of the history of this race of splendid barbarians, the Indo-Europeans, in their south-easterly trek to India—the highly gifted and imaginative barbarians who always stepped into other peoples' shoes, absorbed their culture, imposed upon it their language, their social organisation, and their religious notions (which, however, were quite of an elevating sort)—and in all these ways vivified and transformed into something glorious the culture they accepted. My narrative takes its stand on some of the most recent and authoritative statements of facts and pronouncements of opinions, supplemented by seme of my own notions of these things,—notions which have ever sought to keep their touch with the facts and data and which do not seek to soar on the wings of imagination only.

Let us follow the Indo-Europeans in their trek to India before looking into the condition of that country at the time. Documents of Assyrian, Babylonian and Asianic antiquities tell us how by 2000 B. C. tribes or groups of Indo-Europeans were settled in the regions to the South of the Caucasus, in the Zagros mountains, from where they were taking a greater and greater part in the

affairs of the neighbouring lands. They had undoubtedly come from the north, either through the Caucasus or through Thrace and Macedonia and the northern parts of Asia Minor ; and in the regions to the North of the Zagros Mountains they were settled as a strongly organised and a growing body of people, with horse-breeding as one of their trades. Some groups of them, like the Manda people, the Mitanni and the Harri, carved out kingdoms for themselves, ruling over the native peoples, already by the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C. The names of the Mitannian chiefs and of their Gods as in the Boghaz Köi records show that the Aryan or Indo-Iranian modification of the Indo-European speech had already taken place in Northern Mesopotamia. Is was the Indo-Iranian phase of the language which apparently was spoken by these Aryans worshipping Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra and the Nāsatyas (as among the Mitannians) ; Aryan words like *aika*, *tera* (=*tri*, *traya*), *panza*, *satta* (=*sapta*), *wartanna*, *wasanna* are found in some Asia Minor (Boghaz Köi) documents of the period ; and the Kassites of Babylon, ruling for several centuries from the 19th century B. C. onwards, had at least borrowed some of their Gods from the Aryans, even if they were not Aryans themselves : thus *Shuriash* = the Semitic *Shamash*, the Sun-God, *Maruttash*, *Shimalia* = **Zhimalia* the "Queen of the Snowy Mountains", and *Dakash* a Star-god, can be compared with Sanskrit *Sūryas*, *Marutas*, **Himāla-*, and *Dakṣas* the father of the 27 constellations. There can be no doubt that the Indo-Europeans were penetrating and cstablishing themselves in the regions of Northern Mesopotamia during the period 2000-1500 B. C., penetrating peacefully as horse-dealers and as harvesters and tillers of the soil, and probably violently also. The characteristic *Indo-Iranian* culture and religion in its earliest form these Indo-Europeans evolved from their original culture and

faith under the very strongly influencing umbrage of the more advanced Assyrio-Babylonian and Asianic peoples. The original Indo-European religion which has been sought to be reconstructed through linguistic palaeontology, e.g. by Meillet, was a very simple and primitive affair, but with some quite beautiful and noble features about it. There was the idea of faith (**kred-dhē = crēdō, çrad-dhā*) in a beneficient, enjoyment-giving (**bhogos, bhaga, baga, bogŭ*) deity who belongs to the Sky or Heaven (**deiwos = dēvas, deus*), to whom libations were poured (**ghutom = hutam, god*) and these libations were holy. Forces of Nature were personified as gods, but their number was not large. We know for certain that they had a Sky-Father (**Dieus Pətēr = Dyāuṣ Pitar, Zeus Patēr. Iuppiter*), a Sun God (**Suwelios = Sūryas, Hēlios, Sol*), a Dawn Goddess (**Ausos = Uṣas, Ēōs, Aurora, Eastre*), and probably also a Fire God (*Agnis, Ignis, Ogonŭ*), beside other spirits of nature (**dhwesoi = theoi*). We do not have any indications of an elaborate mythology, or mystery or ritual, or priesthood. This comparatively simple Indo-European religion became a short of Proto-Vedic with its complex groups of notions by contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia and Asia Minor with their organised religious systems already ages old. New Gods were added from these foreigners, during the sojourn of the Aryans among them : thus, *Varuṇa* from the Asianic *Aruna*, God of the Sky, and of the Waters and the Sea, also a moral judge ; and probably also the idea of *Indra* as a strong national god, a fighter and a leader, a slayer of primeval serpents and dragons, who, inspite of similarities with *Thor* and *Perkunas*, reminds us so much of the Babylonian *Marduk*. Goddesses with superior, mystic powers, such as could be evolved only in a matriarchal society, but could never have evolved in the patriarchal organisation of the Aryans, came to be known and adopted. The power of the mystic word, specially in a language that the people did not under-

stand (witness the use of Sumerian in religious ritual by the Semitic-speaking Babylonians) came to the acknowledged, although not universally. The demonolatry of Babylon with its malignant serpents came to be known and vaguely believed in, and the Babylonian names of these malignant serpents are preserved in the Atharva-Veda. A hierarchy of Gods and a school of priests—these ideas the Aryans seem to have imbibed from their neighbours. Further modifications of a still more profound character later took place in India. And these simple Aryans, with only a sort of folk or village culture to boast of, not yet fully entered into the bronze age, were undoubtedly tremendously impressed by the arts and crafts and buildings and pomp and splendour of the cities and courts of Assyria and Babylon, and also of the minor states of Asia Minor and Syria. Of arts and crafts, the Aryans had very little of their own : and the awe which they felt at the superior skill and strength of the Assyrians and others, with whom they were sometimes in hostile conflict in which they were not always successful, combined with the cruelty of these peoples (especially the Assyrians), we still see at the root of the idea of the *Asuras* as the foes of the Gods in later Indian, Hindu legend. We can suspect that most of the spectacular and ceremonial, material and artistic side of the life of the Aryans, whether in religion or in public life, was either strongly coloured by or adopted in a more or less modified form from the Mesopotamian and Asianic peoples.

It was thus with the elements derived from Indo-European times, and elements modified and added through contact with the peoples of Mesopotamia, what may be called the primitive Aryan (Indo-Iranian) *milieu* was gradually established by 1500 B. C. While this type of culture was still in a state of formation, it is likely that groups of Aryans spread into Western Iran from the lands round the head-waters of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and

then extended further to the East and the South. Here in the Iranian plateau they fully devoloped their world of ideas and material culture which we find largely preserved in the Vedas (Rig- and Atharva-Vedas) and in the Avesta fragments. Some time in the middle of the 2nd millennium B. C., it is very likely that the Indo-Iranian type of culture was achieved in the Iranian plateau ; while some of the tribes were fighting and ruling and were being absorbed in the West, in Northern Mesopotamia,—others like the Martianoi, the Madai, the Persai (as the Greeks knew them later) were establishing themselves in Western and Contral Iran, and others again like the Bharatas, the Tṛtsus, the Druhyus and the rest were pushing to the east, through other types of alien peoples distinct from the Western *Asuras* or Assyrians with whom they fought and whose superior civilisation they feared and copied.

The Rig-Veda is the oldest document that we have of these Aryans. Half a century or sixty years ago, the Rig-Veda was regarded as a document of the primitive, undivided and common Indo-European epoch, although preserved in India by the Brahmans. Then the Rig-Veda came to be dethroned from this pedestal to which the common homage of the Indo-European speaking peoples would come most naturally as the oldest monument of their culture. It has since come to be looked upon as an Indian document only, as a document of the culture of the Aryans within India, and at the same time it had a considerable importance for an historical study of the cultures of Indo-Europeans outside India. But it would seem that the Rig-Veda (and the Atharva-Veda), although redacted in India, in the western part of the Ganges and Jumna basin some time in the beginning of the 1st millennium B. C., and preserved with zealous care in India through the centuries, is partly, and perhaps considerably so, an Indo-Iranian document. To put the matter categorically : it

is exceedingly likely that a great many hymns of the Rig-Veda were composed in Iran—some may even have been composed in Northern Mesopotamia—during say 2000 —1400 B. C. or later—in the Indo-Iranian stage of the speech which is equally proto-Sanskrit and proto-Avestan ; then when the Aryans crossed the Indus, these hymns were brought into India by them as their national or tribal heritage in literature; and this mass of old hymns, the language of which was imperceptibly altering from generation to generation, together with newer and later hymns composed under a different *milieu*, were formed into a *corpus* which was since then closed to new additions some time between 1000 and 900 B. C. We know that song-craft was practised by the Indo-Iranians before their differentiation into Iranians and Indians, since there are metres in both the Veda and the Avesta which in their close agreement point to a common type as their source. Then the Vedas mention old hymns composed by fore-fathers of the Rishis, the *nivids*. The Aryans were not conscious of entering a new country when they came into India, as there is nothing in their oldest literature to indicate the strangeness and wonder of entering a land of new peoples. The reason was that in the Panjab and in the Sindh they encountered the same nation or race whom they had already known in Iran. So there was no novelty. In the Rig-Veda we find that the people who were hostile to the Aryans (evidently in their resistance to Aryan penetration) were called *Dāsas* or *Dasyus*. It has been assumed that these *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* were a people of the Panjab, from the fact that they are mentioned in connexion withe the rivers of the Panjab. But this *Dāsa-Dasyu* people were certainly also spread in Iran : witness the name *Dahai* by which a tribe living to the South-east of the Caspian Sea was known to the later Persians and to the Greeks ; witness also the word *dahyu* which means in Old Persian "country", and still subsists in

in Modern Persian as *dih*, meaning "country side" or "village". *Daha-* (*Dahai*) and *Dahyu* are but the later, Iranian forms of *Dāsa* and *Dasyu*. The remains of ancient culture which have recently been unearthed in Southern Panjab (at Harappa) and in Sindh (at Mohen-jo-Daro) show that there was a strong and highly organised people in North-western India to offer resistance to the Aryans. That this resistance was sufficiently strong, at least to prevent Aryan aggression in Sindh, we can easily see : since the Aryans could not advance along the course of the Indus river, but had to direct their movement eastwards, along the basins of the tributaries of the Indus and of the Ganges and the Jumna. The reluctance of the pre-Aryan Sindh people, who were unquestionably the same as the *Dāsa* and *Dasyu* people of the Rig-Veda, to let the Aryans make a free and easy conquest of their country, seems to be reflected in the petty prescription in one of the later works of the Brahmans on domestic and religious ritual—the *Baudhāyana Dharma-sūtras*, probably of the 2nd century B. C.—that Brahmans from the Ganges Valley going to Sindh (among other places) must perform a light penance, as the people there among whom he must sojourn are not pure. Now, the culture site of Anau near Merv in North-Eastern Iran, excavared some time ago by the American Pumpelly, shows important points of agreement in the finds of cult objects and art with Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa ; and the Mohen-jo-Daro culture has been found in Baluchistan also. So that it is not unlikely that one type of culture, of course in its ramifications, extended from Sindh and the Panjab through Baluchistan and doubtless also through Afghanistan into Eastern Persia, and probably also into West Persia ; and this was the culture of the people with whom the Aryans had to fight and whom we may call the *Dāsa-Dasyu* people. And there is nothing to prevent the assumption that some of the older hymns of the Veda were composed in Iran

while the Aryans were fighting the *Dāsa-Dasyus* there. The Vedic *Paṇis* have similarly the likelihood of being a people of Iran—the *Parnai*—whom the Aryans encountered there. Coming into India was only the continuation of the same sort of life, conditions and alien peoples with which the Aryans were already familiar in Iran. A certain amount of speculation has in the hands of some scholars sought to connect names and objects, events and ideas in the Veda with those in ancient Iran, and it seems that careful proceeding along this path indicated is sure to being out interesting facts. So that a verse composed in the Indo-Iranian Aryan of say 1800 or 1500 B. C. somewhere outside India—say, the famous Gāyatrī-verse as an example—in a form like the follcwing—

**tat sawitṛz warainyam bhargaz daiwasya dhīmadhi,*
dhiyaz yaz nas pra k'audayāt,

which can be made up by comparing Vedic forms with Avestan,—could easily and imperceptibly transform itself into the Vedic—

tat savitur varēṇyam bhargō dēvasya dhīmahi,
dhiyō yō naḥ pra cōdayāt,

which is the language say of about 1000 B. C. And the opening verse of the Rig-Veda—

agnim īḷē purōhitaṃ yajñasya dēvam ṛtvijam,
hōtāraṃ ratna-dhātamam—

might have originally been composed, for aught we know, in the Indo-Iranian period, in a form of pre-Vedic like—

**agnim izdai puraz dhitam yaz'nasya daiwam ṛtwiz'am,*
z'hautāram ratna-dhātamam.

The Vedas thus regarded in the light of an Indo-Iranian document will make many a difficulty clear.

The Aryans, with whose advent the historical period may be said to begin in India, thus came by way of

Northern Mesopotamia and Iran from their original home somewhere in Central or Eastern Europe. On the way they had been largely influenced in their religion and culture by the civilised peoples of Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. The elements of art they had were probably derived largely from the Assyrio-Babylonians ; as also a great deal of their institutions. In Persia, the Aryans were overwhelmingly under the influence of Assyria and Babylon, so much so that ancient Persian art is only a provincial form of the later Assyrio-Babylonian one. This art the Aryans developed in India after they came in touch with the original peoples of the country, and the institutions they brought were some of them later on modified into *Hindu* institutions, and then these travelled further into the east, into Indo-China and Indonesia. Thus the rosette *motif* which is found in Assyrian art was the source of the Indian lotus *motif* (a lotus placed flat, stylised), and this *motif* has thus travelled everywhere in the wake of Hindu art ; and the use of umbrellas and fly-whisks by the Assyrio-Babylonian kings seems certainly to be (in the absence of other evidence to the contrary) the basis of the use of the umbrella as a royal insignia in Hindu India, which has spread from Hindu India into these islands.

The Aryans thus came into India with a composite culture which was largely of the usual ancient West Asiatic type. The Aryan *peuplade* similarly was perhaps also a complex, in which the original Indo-European elements had mingled more or less with Asianic, Caucasian, Assyrian, Elamitic and Iranian Dāsa-Dasyu elements. In India, they came in most intimate touch with two important types of people, the Dravidians and the Kols ; and the result of the commingling of these three peoples, Ārya, Drāviḍa and Kol, has resulted in a most remarkable synthesis of culture —the Hiudu culture. This synthesis was practically complete in the Panjab and the Upper Ganges Valley by the

middle of the first millennium B. C. About that time, with its peculiar social organisation, its philosophy of life, its main currents in literature and art, it may be said to have become characterised into what we know as *Hindu* culture. The Age of the Rig-Veda is not the characteristic *Hindu* Age. From the Upper Ganges Valley, this culture spread into the contiguous tracts of India, into Bengal, into the South ; and it also spread beyond the sea in the wake of earlier pre-Aryan race and culture movements. In this synthesis, the dominantly obtrusive note has been that of the Aryan, by virtue of the triumph of the Aryan's language as the vehicle of this culture. Similarly the Hellenistic culture of Syria and the later Sasanian culture of Persia commingled, and received a common name as *Saracenic* or *Arab* or *Islamic* culture, by virtue of the Arabic language having been used, as a sacred language, by the peoples who carried on the torch after the Greeks in the Near East, and these peoples were not ordinarily Arabs. Some noble religious ideals—the principle of *do ut des* which makes God a trusted friend of man, e. g.—seem to have been Aryan ; imaginativeness was the special gift of the Aryan, and this was combined with a high sense of discipline in life and in thought which is at the basis of the peculiarly Aryan ideal of the Brahmans, as embodied in the theory and practice of the four stages of life, and in the appeal to the intellect. Art and certain important aspects of Hindu religion, and religious fervour and abandon came from the Dravidians ; and the Kol masses furnished to this common Indian culture a great many *nuclei* in material culture and also in religious notions.

The Dravidians were living in India before the coming of the Aryans. At the present day, Southern India is the stronghold of the Dravidian languages, but it seems that the West coast and Sindh, and possibly also the Panjab, were largely dwelt in by the Dravidians. In the Ganges

Valley, in Bengal, it seems there was a commingling of Dravidian and Kol peoples ; and in Central India the latter strain has been always strong. The Dravidians are a people of obscure origin, and in their unique character have been sought to be affiliated racially with the Abyssinians, and also linguistically with the Uralic peoples : such is the wide range followed in the choice of their affinities. But it seems from a number of cultural evidences that the Dravidians were originally a Mediterranean people (a point which I have discussed in a paper on the Mohen-jo-Daro finds in the *Modern Review* of Calcutta for December 1924) ; and they were possibly allied to the ancient Lycians and Cretans. We do not know when and how they came to India. But it has been surmised that the culture of the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa sites, as well as of certain prehistoric sites in the extreme South of India, belonges to the Primitive Dravidians : and this people is partly at least the *Dāsas* and *Dasyus* of the Veda. They would seem to have been spread from Iran to the Panjab, Sindh, and Baluchistan (where some Dravidian speakers still survive, the Brahuis) and right down into the South of India, as well as into the North, and East along the Ganges.

Ample evidence of the culture of the Dravidians has been found, and the presence of the flourishing Dravidian languages and Dravidian arts has been the direct challenge to the thesis that the Aryans were single-handed in building up the culture of India. Philologists of Dravidian and Indo-Aryan have demonstrated how the Aryan speech has been profoundly modified since Vedic times by Dravidian, in phonetics, in vocabulary, in syntax, in a general altering of the grammatical categories. This intimate influence of the Dravidian speech on Indo-Aryan has generally been admitted. Dravidian influence on the other aspects of Indian Aryan culture has also been recognised. Perhaps in this matter, especially in the matter of religious notions, it

would be extremely difficult to find out what was borrowed by the Aryans from the Dravidians within India, and what they took from their brothers or kinsmen outside India. And moreover, the problem is still further complicated by the extreme likelihood of the Dravidian and the Kol worlds of culture (including religion) having intermingled, in the Ganges Valley specially, before the coming of the Aryans. Only very careful inquiry into the original Dravidian religion as brought into India from the West (and not amateurish theorisings based on some large assumptions colouring imperfect classifications of meagre facts), and similar careful enquiry into the religion of the Kols and their kinsmen the Mon-Khmers, the Indonesians and others, can in the future allow us to have a reasonable view of the matter. Be it as it may, it is becoming more and more clear every day that a great many of the fundamental bases of Hindu thought and Hindu religious notions, including myths and legends on the one hand and ritual on the other, are not Aryan, but pre-Aryan—Dravidian and Kol, and mixed.

To give one or two specific instances. It seems to me that there has not been any sublimer and at the same time a more profound conception of the deity in a system of mythology than that of Śiva and Umā. In this conception of Śiva and Umā we find the quintessence of the Hindu synthesis of Aryan and non-Aryan elements. The beginnings were crude and anthropomorphic, but the later sublimation in Hindu thought was profound and highly metaphysical. The Aryan Storm God Rudra, the Roarer, the Father of the Marutas, i.e. the Winds, was on one side ; and some non-Aryan conceptions were on the other—part Dravidian, possibly also part Kol. There was the conception of the force of destruction and regeneration as a deity, symbolised in the *liṅga*, and *liṅga* has been shown to be a Kol word. There is the conception of a bull-riding God, a

passive counterpart of an active female deity, the Great Mother who feeds all, and who rides on a lion : a conception which at once recalls the Asianic conception of the Mother Goddess and her male counter-part, and which may have been brought to India by the Dravidians (if they were really a Mediterranean people), or by the Aryans themselves as a result of their sojourn in North-eastern Asia Minor. Further, we have the notion of a terrible demoniac god, a *red* god living in forests and hills and lonely places, clad in skins, adorned with bones, filling with panic those whom he gave a glimpse of himself, and attended by dogs that ate up their victims whole. All these combined with the Aryan nature-myth of Rudra, and softened by the philosophy of the Hindu mind later, gave a God of grace and a God of knowledge and enraptured meditation, a God of beauty and mildness and mercy, who could yet be a destructive force, and who was the very self of the Divine Spirit itself. It has been suggested that the Sanskrit *Śiva* is the Tamil word *Śivan'*, meaning the "Red One" (compara *Nīla-lōhita* = "the Red One with the Blue Throat", as an epithet for Śiva) ; further comparison may be made between Sanskrit *Śambhu*, a common Sanskrit name for Śiva, and Tamil *cĕmpu* or *cĕmbu* = "copper", and "red" ; and it is not impossible that the identification with the Aryan *Rudra* was facilitated by a possible Aryan translation of the non-Aryan (Dravidian) name of the God into **Rudhra* "the Red One". Similarly, the Aryan *Viṣṇu* "the Spreading One", as a name for the Sun, was combined with a Dravidian Sky-god *Viṇ*, *Viṇṇu*, to give the later Hiṇdu notions of *Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa*. The characteristic Hindu ritual of worship is the *pūjā*. This is a later ritual than the *hōma*, the fire sacrifice. In the oldest and the genuinely Aryan documents of India, *pūjā* is unknown as a religious ritual ; in the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upanishads, it is all *hōma*, and no *pūjā*. At the present day, as in ancient times, only the "twice-

born" castes, the Brahmans, Kshatriyas and Vaiśyas, who alone are (theoretically at least) the true descendants of original Aryans, are in Hindu orthodoxy entitled to perform the *hōma* ; others, presumably not of true Aryan descent, can perform only the *pūjā*. And there is a lot of difference between the *hōma* and the *pūjā*, in their ideas as well as ritualism. *Hōma* is the ritual of fire sacrifice. The Gods are in the sky, and to them man offers through the Fire, which is the messenger of the Gods, things that he enjoys himself. An ox or a sheep is killed, and its flesh and fat are offered to the fire, together with butter and cakes of barley, and the spirituous drink *Sōma*. The Gods like these things as much as men, and in return they help him in his worldly prosperty and endeavour. *Pūjā* is entirely different. There is a Supreme Spirit pervading the universe, or there are Spirits, on earth, in the hills, in trees, in the air. A symbol (it may be a piece of stone, a full vase, a mystical figure, an image) is taken, and by an invocation with a ritual with appropriate words intelligible or unintelligible, the spirit is sort of compelled to present itself within the symbol for the special benefit of the worshipper ; and then the symbol is treated like an honoured guest and is offered water, flower, incense, fruits and grains, leaves and twigs and other produce of the earth, and sometimes animals and birds are slaughtered and their blood is offered ; and there is music and dancing to please the deity in the symbol or image. Now, in Hindu religious history, the ritual of the *pūjā* takes a larger and larger place. The *hōma* or Vedic sacrifice becomes more and more restricted, and the elaborate forms of the *yajñas* or fire sacrifices are gradually dropped. *Pūjā* is in all probability a non-Aryan, a Dravidian ritual, possibly also with Kol affinities or influence. In some of its aspects it may be Kol as well. It is not Aryan, it is not found among the Indo-Europeans outside India like the Iranians, the old Greeks, the Italians, the

Celts, the Teutons and the Slavs, who only know the ritual of the burnt-offering. It has been suggested, and quite a reasonable suggestion it is too, that the word *pūjā*, together with ritual, is Dravidian. *Hōma* is also known as *paśu-karma*, i. e. the ritual with the victim animal. *Pūjā* has been referred to Dravidian (Tamil) *pū* "flower" and *cey*, *çey* (Kannada *gey*), "to do" : flowers must always and unavoidably figure in the *pūjā*, which analysed as a Dravidian composition as **pū-cey*, **pū-gey*, means thus *puṣpa-karma*. Be it as it may, there cannot be any doubt that it is non-Aryan, and pre-Aryan. In Mohen-jo-Daro, libation vessels, vessels for sacred water, vessels with orifices such as are in use at the present day for the water to trickle down upon the *Śiva-liṅga*, have been found in terra-cotta : which would suggest that a ritual analogous to the *pūjā* was practised in pre-Aryan India of some 4000 years ago. Then, again, the Aryans seem hardly to have had any animal cults. The worship of the snakes (*Nāgas*), of the cow, and of the monkey as Hanūmān, undoubtedly developed in India. Tree-worship similarly. In the Mohen-jo-Daro remains, there has been found a little plaquette in clay-stone with figures of *nāga* serpents on either side of a sacred *peepul* (*aśvattha*) tree, which is still regarded as sacred in India. Hanūmān, it has been very plausibly suggested by Pargiter, is the primitive Indian Monkey Ged ; the Dravidians probably had a primeval Monkey God, whom they called the "Male Monkey". This cult may have been shared also by the Kols. The name would be *aṇ-manti* in Tamil, which is the oldest and the purest among Dravidian tongues ; and it is the Old or Proto-Dravidian source form of *aṇ-manti*, meaning "male-monkey", which seems to have been rendered into the Vedic Aryan speech as *Vṛṣā-kapi*, the name of the obscure god who is accorded worship by the later Vedic Aryans side by side with Indra, much to the chagrin of his

wife Indrāṇī, who may be taken to represent those Aryans who were averse to the toleration or inclusion of the zoomorphic gods of the non-Aryans. The Dravidian word was later adopted into Sanskrit as *Hanŭmān*, and then the cult was further strengthened by the popularity of the story of Rāma with which monkey hero *Hanŭmān* is closely connected. Present day popular Hinduism, both in religious ritual and in religious notions, would thus seem to be very largely of Dravidian inspiration.

The question of Dravidian influence began to be studied through philology. Dravidian words in Sanskrit vocabulary have seen studied, and several hundreds of Sanskrit words are of Dravidian origin, according to the Dravidian scholars Caldwell, Gundert and Kittel. Their equations of Sanskrit words with possible original source-forms in the various Dravidian languages, however, are not often convincing—we have good Indo-European analogies and explanations suggested for those by other scholars ; but they show us an important line of enquiry.

A similar line of enquiry, proceeding from the study of the linguistic to that of cultural influence, has recently been started by the French scholar Jean Przyluski with regard to the Kol speech and its contact with Aryan in India. The result achieved in a series of short papers in the *Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique* of Paris and in a paper in the *Journal Asiatique* studying old Indian onomastics in the light of Kol (Austric) philology, is so far quite striking. Przyluski has shown how a number of common Sanskrit words, like *tāmbūla* (betel leaf), *lāṅgala* (plough), *liṅga* (phallus), *kambala* (blanket), *kadala* (plantain), and others are of Kol origin ; and all this shows that in certain important aspects of Indian life and culture, there is a large substratum of Kol influence. Sylvain Lévi has followed up the line of argument of Przyluski, and in a paper in his own clear and brilliant style on "Pré-Aryen et Pré-Dravidien

dans l'Inde" in the *Journal Asiatique* he has drawn attention to the probable fact that it was the Kols who predominated in Northern India, and it was mainly the Kol people who become Aryan-speaking Hindus in Northern India, retaining a great deal of their own culture and world of ideas, which were only Aryanised on the surface. This culture and domain of ideas were in fact absorbed into Hinduism ; and as the old Aryan force grew feebler and feebler, because the non-Aryans were in all probability overwhelming in number, the old Vedic ideas were getting dimmer and dimmer, and the Old Gods of the land, with their ancient rites and legends, cults and creeds, grew strong and got back their old position, although they had to make a compromise with the world of the New Gods, by changing sometimes their names and sometimes their natures, sometimes identifying themselves with the Gods of the newcomers and sometimes being content with an inferior position in the new pantheon.

Probably after the Negrito savages, who have been found in the coast lands of Baluchistan, and in parts of South India, in the Andamans and in parts of Farther India,—and they possibly also existed in other parts of India where they have become absorbed or extinct—the oldest people of India were these Kols. I prefer to call this people *Kol* rather than by the commoner term *Muṇḍā* ; I have given my reasons elsewhere. They are, as Pater Schmidt has indicated, members of a great family of people extending from the Ganges to East Pacific, to which the name *Austric* has been given. This Austric family is made up of (1) the *Austro-Asiatic* group, including the Kols of India, the Khasis, the Mons and the Khmers, and some other tribes of Indo-China, the Sakai of Malaya, and the Nicobarese ; (2) the *Austro-nesian* group, comprising the Indonesians ("Malay" peoples), the Melanesians and the Polynesians. The original home of the Primitive Austric people was

somewhere in Indo-China, and their coming into India was in all likelihood before that of the Dravidians, and certainly long anterior to that of the Aryans. They were established in the Assam valley and Assam hills, in the Bengal plains, in the plateau of Chota Nagpur, in Central India, in Rajputana, and in Gujarat ; and it would seem, from certain, linguistic and ethnic facts, that they were spread over the plains of the Ganges, right up to the Panjab, and the Himalayas ; and the presence of the strange Burushaski people in the principality of Hunza-Nagyr to the North of Kashmir, whose language does not agree with any known family of speech, but which in a few points in vocabulary seems to show some agreement with Kol, would go to suggest that the Kol people originally extended to even beyond the Himalayas. However, that these Kols form an important element in the present day North Indian people there is no doubt.

The Mon-Khmers of Indo-China who received the characterised Hindu culture quite early are thus the kinsmen of the Kols ; and so are the Indonesians, although a little more distantly connected. It is exceedingly likely that even before the advent of the Dravidians and the Aryans in the Ganges Valley, and before the development of a composite Kol-Dravid-Aryan or Hindu culture by the middle of the 1st millennium B. C., the ancient Indian Kols were in maritime communication with their kinsmen in Indo-China and in Indonesia, as Sylvain Lévi has suggested ; and the carrying of Hindu culture, after it was developed and characterised in the Ganges Valley, was but a continuation of the old commerce between the two branches of the Austric race, even after one of these branches in India had merged its culture into that of the Aryans and Dravidians.

To appraise the Kol or Austric as well as the Dravidian

elements in Hindu culture now presents itself as a problem of primary importance in studying the origins of Hindu culture. In India, the religious notions and culture of the Kols, even where they live an isolated life far from the currents of Hindu civilisation, have been profoundly influenced by the influx of Hindu notions—they are not purely Kol or Austric any longer. To restore the Kol, Austro-Asiatic and Austric *milieus*, help from Indo-Chinese and Indonesian studies is indispensable. When we have some general idea about the real character of Austro-Asiatic thoughts, notions and life, we shall be able to trace it in ancient and medieval Hindu thought. Among the fundamentals of Hindu notions and ideals, the idea of transmigration is, perhaps, of Kol animistic origin. This idea is farthest removed from the old Aryan belief in the Elysian fields of *Pitṛ-lōka* or *Yama-lōka*, which is a very vague and colourless sort of existence beyond the funeral pyre, an existence which usually had no connexion with, and no malignant and magical potency over the lives of men. The Dravidian idea seems to have been that the spirits of the dead were evil, and they had to be propitiated with offerings from time to time, and with objects of use being put in the grave with the dead-body. But the Austric notion seems to have been of the soul of the dead man having various forms and its movements not being restricted to the tree upon which his body was kept or the grave within which he was buried. A soul capable of taking up diverse forms, and not restricted in its movement, could with the development of philosophical reflectiveness, easily give rise to the idea of transmigration. Some customs and ways of life current among the primitive Indonesians have their counterparts in ancient and modern India. Tree-burial was known to the *Mahābhārata*. Betel-chewing is a Kol and Austric custom which has continued down to the present day. The Polynesian method of cooking over

heated stones in trenches covered with earth is known to some of the Kol tribes still at the present day.

Because a great deal of Kol usage, custom and belief has been absorbed in Hinduism, and because this Hinduism in its turn profoundly modified the life of a great many groups of Indonesians, a study of orthodox Sanskrit Hinduism would seem to be absolutely necessary for students of Indonesian culture on a historical or comparative basis. Dravidian and Kol myths and legends have unquestionably been Hinduised in the *Mahābhārata*, the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Purāṇas*. The traiditions of the country never die, especially in the olden times. We are now realising how a great deal of the deathless tales of Greek myth and legend is not originally Greek, i.e. Indo-European, but is rather pre-Greek and "non-Aryan", having evolved originally among peoples of the Aegean—the Cretans and Mycenaeans. Similar may have been the case with ancient India—with the legends in the Hindu books. The necessity, for instance, of supplementing the scriptural version of the Rāma legend as in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki with the popular extra-Valmikian versions and recensions which are current in India itself and in Indo-Chinese and Indonesian literature and art, extra-Valmikian versions which are perhaps in many points older than Vālmīki, has been recognised by both Indian and European scholars.

To sum up : the foundations or Hindu culture are complex, and they are on earlier Dravidian and Kol cultures, with certain elements brought in by the Aryans. The Aryan's contribution itself was not purely Indo-European—there were considerable Asianic and Mesopotamian and other extra-Indian *Dāsa-Dasyu* elements in it. But the Kol and Dravidian elements form a basis certainly deeper than the Aryan, which succeeded in only giving it outward form and unity, its discipline and order. Hence

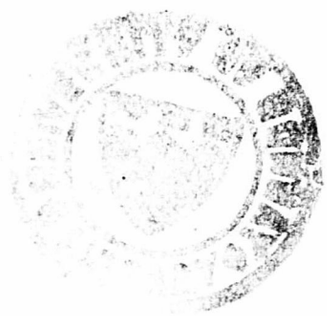
the tremendous importance of the Aryan element, which is so obvious and obtrusive.

To find out the bases of Kol culture, and consequently of Hindu culture, comparison of Indian things with Indonesian is essential. For pre-Hindu Indonesian things, a study of the Hindu world is unavoidable, if only for the detection and elimination of the Hindu elements in our study for reconstruction. The scientific curiosity of Europe has through Holland once more given us back the glories of Boro-budur and other Hindu Javanese remains, and it (more than any other gift which the Dutch people could bring to the people of Insulindia) is bringing the greatest of all gifts to the Javanese and other Indonesians, namely, the curiosity and the power to know themselves. It is this same scientific curiosity quickened to life by the human touch and by the interest in brother-man that is unravelling to us the heart of the primitive peoples of these islands through Ethnology and through Prehistoric Archaeology. Students and scholars of India who realise the value of this work realise also its important bearing on the revelation of the foundations of their own culture, which did not drop down ready-made from heaven with the coming of the Aryans, like an armed Athena form the head of Zeus. They are now becoming more and more alive to the fact that their historical Indian, or Hindu culture is on the basis of other cultures and environments which existed in the land long prior to the advent of the Aryans with their Vedic hymns. We in India by virtue of our language and race and history are the inheritors of the worlds of the Indo-European, the Dravidian, and the Austric peoples ; and the world of Islam too has had its place in our culture. Our Vedas are a link with the West, our Hindu religion and culture is of the East, and our Sanskrit joins up both. An Indian with a true historical sense is the most cosmopolitan and international person in the world, and it is this

cosmopolitanism and international spirit, this detachment from an exclusive national or racial bias, that alone can fit one for scientific investigation. Any help that we from India would be able to render by virtue of our special inheritance of this culture and our familiarity with it that comes to us from the fact of our birth and our living wlthin the folds of its embrace, as well as by virtue of a growing sprit of scientific curiosity aided by its indispensable hand-maid, namely, logical methodology, will be our most willing contribution to the Science of Man, especially Man in Southern Asia, and his past, a subject which is of universal interest. A co-operation between Dutch and Indonesian scholars (and French scholars) with Hindu scholars from India will be of far-reaching and abiding result in this field of research, namely, the study of the foundations of the culture of the world of India, Indo-China and Indonesia, which together form one cultural unit : and I trust that such co-operation will be possible soon, with the stimulation of interest in Indonesian history and culture which the visit of Rabindranath Tagore to Java and Bali and the activities of the newly founded *Bṛhattara-Bhārata-Pariṣad* (Greater India Society) of Calcutta are creating among Indian students and scholars, and with your extension of the hand of fellowship and co-operation to us younger workers in India.

Members of the Royal Batavian Society of Arts and Sciences, the Society which is the elder sister of our Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta, before resuming my seat I express my heartfelt thanks to you for your kindness in giving me this honour and privilege of meeting you and addressing you this evening ; and I thank you also for the numerous and valuable facilities which we as members of Rabindranath Tagore's party have received from your Society, and from its membrs individually (like Dr. Bosch, Dr. Van Stein Callenfels, Dr. Stutterheim, Dr. Pigeaud,

Dr. Drewes, Mr. Moens, Dr. Hoesein Djajadiningrat, and Mr. Samuel Koperberg), in making our travel through Java and Bali a fruitful and a permanent source of inspiration.



CORRECTIONS

Page 97, Song 6, l. 5 : read 'pātā' for 'pāta'.

Page 99, Song 9, heading : read 'Cautāla'.

Page 99, Song 9, l. 8 : read 'antara-bānī' for 'antara'.

Page 100, Song 10, l. 7 : read 'pāwana' for 'pā ana'.